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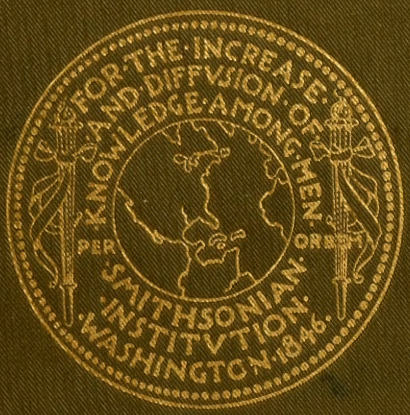

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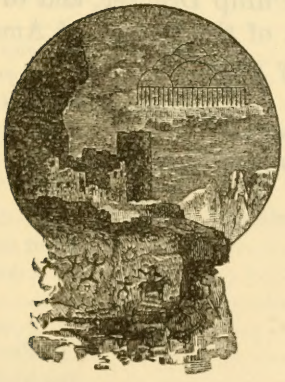
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 168

THE NATIVE BROTHERHOODS: MODERN INTERTRIBAL ORGANIZATIONS ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

By PHILIP DRUCKER



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., December 28, 1956.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast," by Philip Drucker, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. STIRLING, *Director.*

Dr. LEONARD CARMICHAEL,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

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FOREWORD

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out in two parts. In the fall of 1952 I spent over 2 months in southeast Alaska, during which time I visited a number of Indian communities, and, thanks to the courtesy of the officers of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, I was privileged to attend, in the role of observer, its Annual Convention at Hoonah, November 10 to 15. This season of the fieldwork was supported by the Smithsonian Institution. In the fall of 1953 and in February and March 1954, I visited British Columbia, to collect information on the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. This work was made possible by a grant from the Arctic Institute of North America. In December 1953 and January 1954, I returned to southeast Alaska to recheck certain data and fill in some areas that I had not covered adequately the first season. This phase of the work, which enabled me to round out my information and which obviated a third trip to the coast, was made possible by a grant from the American Philosophical Society. A supplementary grant from the Smithsonian Institution enabled me to spend an additional month in British Columbia.

In addition to owing a debt of gratitude to the foregoing organizations for their support of my project, I am also under obligation to a great many Alaskans and British Columbians who took considerable pains to see that I was able to learn about the organizations which formed the focal point of my study, and about related matters bearing on the acculturational situation on the coast. A list of all these people would be excessively long, so I take this opportunity to express my thanks here to all who assisted me. There were a number of people who made particularly great contributions of time and effort, and to whom I feel especially obligated: these include Mr. William Paul, Sr., and Mr. Cyril Zuboff, at Juneau; Mr. Harry Douglas, of Hoonah; Mr. Sam Johnson, Mr. Patrick Paul, and Mr. Joe Kahklen, at Angoon; Mr. Joe C. Williams, of Saxman; Mr. Frank G. Johnson, of Kake; Mr. Frank Peratrovich and Mr. Alfred Widmark, of Klawock. In British Columbia, I was especially obligated to Mr. William D. Scow and Mr. Charles Nowell, of Alert Bay; Mr. William Beynon, of Port Edward; Mr. Peter Calder and Mr. Johnson Russ, of Greenville; Mr. Paul Price, Mr. William Kelly, and Mrs. Annie Dudoward, of Port Simpson; Mr. William Mathews, of Masset; and Chief Billy Assu, of Cape Mudge.

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There is one work which I would have quoted most frequently in discussing the background of Alaskan history, law, and problems—Gruening's "The State of Alaska" (1954). In this book the author discusses in detail the numerous problems that have beset Alaskans, native and white, since early days, and in addition he deals with a number of topics such as the land problem in Alaska, the "wardship" situation of the natives, and so on, in a most perceptive manner. However, in accordance with the terms of the Arctic Institute contract, the present report had to be completed and submitted early in 1954, just before Gruening's book appeared. The most I have been able to do, therefore, in a final hasty revision of this report, has been to use Gruening's work to check, and at times correct, facts relating to various laws, etc., which affected the Indians of southeast Alaska.

THE NATIVE BROTHERHOODS: MODERN INTERTRIBAL ORGANIZATIONS ON THE NORTHWEST COAST[1]

By Philip Drucker

INTRODUCTION

The Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia are organizations whose history and accomplishments are known to but few people outside of Alaska and British Columbia. Even social scientists and culture historians whose field of interest is the process of adjustment of native groups to present-day American and Canadian civilization are, in general, unfamiliar with them. Yet the two organizations are not only unique in western North America, but have been active for some time—the Alaskan one for over four decades—and throughout their history they have been seeking to solve certain problems of acculturation. Their main concern has been, actually, to further acculturation among the Indians. It seemed obvious that a study of them would be rewarding, particularly from the point of view of determining what the Indian himself regarded as the significant aspects of acculturation. There was also the interesting situation created by the fact that the Indians of coastal British Columbia and those of Alaska shared a host of common cultural patterns in aboriginal times, and at present as well (for example, their heavy dependence, economically speaking, on the commercial fishing industry), but their political status is very different. Thus, analysis of the developments of the two organizations might be expected to provide some interesting comparative material.

The present study is basically one in cultural adjustment and acculturation, but in a very specialized way. It makes no pretense at covering the whole acculturational picture on the entire coast; attention is focused primarily on the two organizations and the parts they played and are playing in the adjustment processes. There are other aspects of acculturation which I have not touched at all. It seems worth remarking here that I am convinced that the Northwest Coast

[1] A study of acculturation sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, the Arctic Institute of North America, and the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund).

has been unduly neglected by students of this field. (Pettitt (1950) and Colson (1953) are the only honorable exceptions that I know of.) Yet every village on the coast offers excellent opportunities for a detailed study; every linguistic division offers a series of interesting contrasts, whose differences, and causes, should give a great deal of insight into the principles involved. The patterns of adjustment in Masset and Skidegate, for instance, seem to be very different; the four modern Nass villages contrast most strikingly with each other as communities. The same is true all along the coast. The day of old-line ethnography, centered in the culture of bygone "aboriginal" times, is rapidly coming to an end on the Northwest Coast, except for such scraps of information as may be salvaged here and there. This is not meant to deny the value of rescuing from oblivion such unrecorded information relating to pre-white patterns as can be found. My intent is to stress the fact that a vital new culture exists, composed of interesting blends and mixtures of ancient Indian and 20th-century white American and Canadian usages and attitudes. Whether this new composite culture will persist and develop along its own lines, or eventually be replaced by patterns 100 percent borrowed from white neighbors is not to the point. The challenging situation exists now for such anthropologists who dare to tackle it.

Before beginning the factual account, it will be worthwhile to define a term or two. As interest in the anthropological phenomenon of "acculturation" has increased in the last few years, numerous definitions of it have been developed. There has been a tendency to expand the significance of the term to cover all transfer of concepts across cultural boundaries; in other words some writers use it as a synonym for (or to replace entirely) the older term "diffusion" (Herskovits, 1938). However, anyone, even an archeologist, has a right to his own definitions, provided he consistently adheres to them. As used in these pages, "acculturation" refers to the processes and results of situations of diffusion of culture, in which materials and concepts are transmitted from one culture to another, when some degree of compulsion toward acceptance is exerted by the contributing culture on the recipient one. The nature of this compulsive force does not matter: it may involve military (or police), economic, or religious sanctions, or those of any other conceivable type, singly or in any possible combination. The significant point is that complete freedom of choice, from the point of view of the recipient culture, does not exist. In other words, the culture exposed to acculturative influences must be situated in a subordinate relationship to the donor culture. This definition has a real utility in the present study. The Northwest Coast offers examples of both ordinary diffusion and acculturation, in terms of this definition. During the epoch of the trade for sea otter furs, diffusion of Euro-American tracts to Indian cultures occurred

at a great rate. The traders had material possessions which the Indians wanted, and acquired, along with ideas and concepts that went along with the trade goods. There was no real compulsion; the way the Indians turned up their noses at articles that had passed their vogue, driving the skippers to distraction, is the clearest proof of this. (Intracultural compulsions, such as the culturally derived motivations of the Yankee skippers to get rich, have nothing to do with the case.) Later on, when governmental controls were established, missionary influences, at first voluntarily accepted then highly compulsive, were introduced, and finally when the Indians got caught up in the web of an industrial economy, this element of free choice disappeared. If one or several individuals tried to exercise choice, and attempted to refuse the innovation, they exposed themselves to penalties of one sort or another. In the midst of an acculturational setup, diffusion (voluntary acceptance of concept) may also occur. No white pressure forced the Tlingit to learn to distill molasses rum in the 1860's–70's. They did, though, with an enthusiasm which might have been better devoted to more useful activities.

I am not arguing that the foregoing is the only valid usage of the term "acculturation." My aim is simply to explain how I am using it. What this study is about, therefore, is to try to see what certain groups of people trapped in the compulsive bight of acculturation think about it, and try to do about it.

Another term that seems to require definition is that old ethnologic workhorse, "clan." While the northern Northwest Coast groups had social units that duplicated in many respects anthropologists' structured and synthesized concepts of "clan organization," they also created a series of functional and conceptual variants of the stereotype. When I speak of a "clan," however, I refer to the individual local unit—if I speak of the Kagwantan clan in discussing Sitka, I mean only the Sitka Kagwantan, and not the branches at Yakutat and Kluckwan and elsewhere; the Killerwhale (gicpawudada) clan" of the Tsimshian in my usage refers only to that unit of a specified tribe such as the Ginaxangik and to no other, unless stated to be of wider reference.

There is one final matter to be put on record, and it is one which concerns my own attitudes. The study originally interested me purely for its theoretical implications. These remained of importance to me, and still are, yet as I discussed the problems of the modern Indian with various informants, the goals of the Brotherhood organizations, and the efforts to attain them, I found it very difficult to retain that icy impartiality which is supposed to characterize the scientific observer. I became, and still am, most sympathetic toward the aspirations of the two Brotherhoods, and toward the members who have fought such long bitter battles to achieve their goals. This

is not the result of one of those transfer-in-reverse reactions that cause some ethnographers to become emotionally wrapped up in "their Indians." Rather, it stems from an honest admiration of a people—the coast Indians of British Columbia and of southeast Alaska—who have stood on their own feet and fought their battles with no handouts, until recently, from paternalistic administrations; a people who passed in one jump, or at most a hop-skip-and-jump, from the blanket to life in an industrialized economy and by their own efforts managed to compete with reasonable success with the heirs of generations of such industrialized systems; and a people who, by and large, have retained those characteristics that Emmons (1916, p. 1) described for the Chilkat Tlingit as he knew them in the 1880's: "proud, vain, sensitive, but with all, a healthy, honest, independent race, and friendly when fairly met." Naturally, as a scientist, I intend to keep my bias out of my descriptions and appraisals in the pages that follow, but if it shows through here and there, the readers (if any) are hereby forewarned.

PART 1. THE ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

CULTURE CONTACT IN SOUTHEAST ALASKA

The earliest known contact the Indians of southeast Alaska had with Europeans occurred in 1741, when Chirikoff, Bering's second in command, in the *St. Paul*, made landfall first in the vicinity of latitude 55°41′ N., and again near 57°15′ N., the second location being a few miles north of the modern site of Sitka, if his observations were anywhere near correct. At the latter position the well-known incident took place in which Chirikoff sent first one boat in to the beach for water, then after waiting some days sent another one to search for the first; neither ever returned. Presumably the Tlingit killed both boat crews, for two large canoes of warriors came out toward the ship, and Chirikoff sailed away. More significant contacts were made during the 1790's and early decades of the 19th century when various American and European vessels, chiefly American and British, though other nationalities were also represented, began to comb the coasts in the lucrative trade for sea otter pelts, especially after the results of Vancouver's explorations and painstaking surveys became available. The Indians learned a good deal about the whites in the period of the seagoing fur traders, and especially about white material culture. Relationships were characterized by uneasy blends of avarice and hostility on both sides. Many of the traders were quite ruthless when they dared to be—when dealing with small parties of Indians with furs, and when competition was not too close. The Indians were anxious for white goods, especially articles in vogue at the moment, for they developed a remarkable interest in novelties and fads, and also they were ever on the watch for carelessness on the part of the trader that would give them the chance to capture the ship and thus simultaneously revenge old wrongs and enrich themselves. This was a fabulous period, and one whose cultural aspects have never been adequately studied. The variety of trade goods brought in was amazing. No one but a good Yankee, like Sturgis, would have thought of importing ermine skins (used on the trailers of the northern forehead masks); he bought them in Leipzig for 30 cents each, and traded them five for each sea otter hide (worth $50 at Canton), thus making a conservative profit of more than 3,000 percent.

During this epoch, Baranof attempted to get control of southeast Alaska and wrest the trade away from the Americans and British by establishing forts at Sitka and Yakutat in 1799. These first posts

were tolerated by the local Indians a few years, then in 1802 and 1805, respectively, were captured and destroyed. The Sitka post, New Archangel, was rebuilt in 1804, and operated until the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867. However, Russian *control* of the region was purely mythical. Contacts were limited to the Sitka clans principally, and as the Russians themselves described the situation, the post was "in a constant state of siege by the Tlingits who live in the same settlement with them and are separated only by a simple wooden fence" (Senate Doc. 152, 1950 (citing Kostlitsev), pp. 64–65.) In an official report published in 1863, Golovin wrote, "Not long ago no Russian would dare to go more than 50 paces from the New Archangel (Sitka) fortress without arms. At the present time there is no such enmity, but the trading takes place only with the Sitka Tlingits who live some hundred yards from New Archangel. Tlingits who live in the straits are neither inimical nor friendly, but as they themselves say, they 'tolerate the Russians'" (ibid., pp. 62–63). Although the Tlingit population, like that of other Northwest Coast tribes, was most drastically reduced during the appalling smallpox epidemics of the 1830's, as late as 1855 certain Sitka clans, annoyed with the Russians, came within an ace of repeating their 1802 achievement of taking the Russian fort.

Unable to exploit the present "Panhandle" region, or to compete effectively with either Hudson's Bay Company or the seafaring traders, as the lesser of two evils the Russians, in 1839, leased the mainland from Cape Spencer to latitude 54°40′ N. to the Company for a period of 10 years. This lease was renewed several times, until its final expiration in 1865. The Hudson's Bay Company regime had its moments of difficulty. Fort Stikine was attacked vigorously on several occasions. A good deal of the trouble with the Indians was attributed to the liquor traffic, which the Russians had always engaged in, and which Hudson's Bay Company reluctantly had been forced to enter into in order to compete with American traders. In 1842 Sir George Simpson and Captain Etolin, the creole governor of the Russian-American Company, signed an agreement to prohibit sale or trade of alcoholic liquors to Indians (Simpson, 1930, p. 202 ff.).[2] Whether this agreement had a beneficial effect on Hudson's Bay Company trade is not clear, but there does seem to have been a progressive diminishing of large-scale conflict from that time on. During this phase of coastal history, in southeast Alaska as farther south, the Indians became more

[2] This agreement seems not to have been observed very strictly by the Russians, although the same provision was included in the final version of the royal charter issued; Kostlitsev remarks, anent the section of the charter prohibiting the traffic, "Nevertheless, every Tlingit . . . has so much liquor that when in 1860 the company steamship went into the Strait, the Tlingits themselves offered for sale rum and vodka" (Senate Doc. 152, 1950, p. 65).

and more dependent on grade goods, and simultaneously the fur supply dwindled. The sea otter had long since become scarce; land furs, both from the coast and those traded from the "Stick Indians," were fewer as intensive trapping reduced fur-bearing populations. It is difficult to get a very clear picture of the actual extent of Indian acculturation at this time, however, except that the Sitka groups were clearly the most influenced, owing to their contacts with the New Archangel post. A limited number had become nominal members of the Greek Orthodox faith,[3] and some of those instructed by Veniaminov may have been genuine converts. In the years following the purchase of Alaska by the United States there are various reports of significant new developments in native attitudes, particularly among the Stikine, Tongass, and other Southern Tlingit who were in closer contact with the Christian Tsimshian of Fort Simpson and Metlakatla, many of whom were literate, and had learned various skills of advantage to them in dealing with whites. By the late 1870's many Tlingit were requesting schools and missionaries (Senate Doc. 59, 1879, passim), a pretty certain indication of a readjustment of values. By far the clearest picture of the acculturative level is that given by Commander Beardslee, USN, and his successors, during the naval administration period, 1879–84; by Lieutenant Schwatka, USA; and by Krause (U. S. Navy, Commanders' Letters, 1879–84, passim; Senate Doc. 71, 1882; Schwatka, in U. S. Senate, compilation, 1900, pp. 323 ff.; and Krause, 1885, pp. 14–74, 329–344.). Most of the Tlingit of that time wore clothes of European style, chiefly in coarse, "workingman's" fabrics and cuts, "rather than just the blanket"; silverworking was a very popular craft, and bracelets, rings, earrings, and nose ornaments were most common; the labret, for women, was falling into disuse. Guns, chiefly flintlocks and percussion models (sale of breech-loading rifles to Indians was supposed to be prohibited), were indispensable to hunters. Steel knives and axes, etc., had been in use for a long time; malleable iron was hammered out and filed down to taste to make cutting blades for harpoons and similar implements, in modified aboriginal designs. The woolen blanket, brought in chiefly from Hudson's Bay Company posts without benefit of Customs,[4] was the standard of value, at $3 each—about three times the British Columbia price. Vegetable gardens, often neatly fenced in, and with snares, etc., to keep the crows out, were to be seen at most villages. More significant than these accumulations of material culture items was the ready adaptation to white concepts of

[3] 275 according to Petrov (U. S. Senate, compilation, 1900, p. 103).

[4] Father Duncan's Metlakatla Mission Store also carried on a brisk commerce in British-made goods with Alaska, fleets of big canoes taking cargoes as far north as the Chilkat country and Cross Sound—a traffic that helpless land-bound U. S. Customs officials denounced as wholesale smuggling (Senate Doc. 59, 1879, pp. 38–39).

industry and work for wages. Game and fish were regularly sold to the Russians at Sitka, but it would appear that there were enough Aleuts and creoles to furnish needed labor there; however, within a few years after United States acquisition of the Territory the Tlingit were busying themselves with every job they could get. When the Cassiar gold rush got underway in 1874, the Stikine began freighting cargo up the river in big canoes both for wages and on a contract basis. One account states Indians were freighting for $30 per weight-ton, while the steamers, when they operated, charged $40 per measurement-ton (Senate Doc. 59, 1879, p. 34). Indeed, so highly was this laborious but, to the Indians, well-paid work regarded, that men of other villages entered into it as well, to the annoyance of the Stikine, who considered they should have a monopoly on freighting on their own river. Apparently both Henyakwan and some of the Kaigani Haida fished for, and worked in, the Klawock cannery, generally said to have been the second cannery to be established in Alaska, from its founding. When Commander Beardslee arrived at Sitka in the summer of 1879, to take over the protection of the whites who had reported themselves on the verge of being massacred, he found about 100 Tlingit busily working for the cannery at Hunter's Bay, near Sitka, another 40 working in a mining operation at Silver Bay, and before he himself had been there a fortnight he hired 20 to work on his program of constructing beacons and ranges for entering the harbor. As more prospectors came to Alaska, Indians hired out as packers (the Chilkat worked a slight variation on this theme: they hired out their slaves as packers "at very moderate rates," to the first party of miners whom they permitted to go through their country and over the passes into the Interior). Soon the Chilkat and Chilkoot themselves began packing. Lieutenant Schwatka, USA, relates that in 1883 they were charging from $9 to $12 for each load of 100 pounds taken over the passes into the Yukon drainage. He wrote: ". . . after I had crossed the trail [over Chilkoot Pass], I in no way blamed the Indians for . . . [their rates which] seemed at first sight to be exorbitant, and only wondered that they would do this extremely fatiguing labor so reasonably" (Schwatka, in U. S. Senate, compilation, 1900, p. 292). When gold-bearing deposits were discovered near the site of modern Juneau, the Auk-kwan chiefs cheerfully gave their permission for the miners to come to establish a camp there, and "expressed a determination to work in the mines." In other words, the Tlingit (and Haida, though we hear little about them at this time), with their aboriginal interest in goods as wealth, and their long experience at acquiring desired objects through trade, seem to have made a very easy initial adjustment to the early phase of the industrialized economy which had come to them. Interest in education continued to grow. The

second naval commander, Glass, made education of children between 5 and 15 years old compulsory at Sitka, and devised a drastic means of insuring attendance at school (he fined or jailed the chief of the house of a truant); at the same time, 40 to 50 adults were attending the school fairly regularly. The isolationist Chilkat and Chilkoot assented readily to the suggestion that they move down to the Northwest Trading Company post, at the site of modern Haines, to put their children in the school that was established there. In addition, missionary activity seems to have met no strong native resistance, although it aroused a rather limited amount of interest for a couple of decades. Another acquired accomplishment of the Tlingit, and presumably the Haida, was that they became enthusiastic if not skillful distillers, running off batch after batch of the well-known "hootchenoo," the molasses rum, of which Special Treasury Agent, William Gouverneur Morris, reported "the smell is abominable and the taste is atrocious." Prostitution, common at Sitka during the later years of Russian occupation, was in nowise diminished during the period of Army rule, nor when the miners began to flock into the Territory. In the area of linguistic acculturation, a good many Indians appear to have picked up a few words of English, from American and British traders, but very few could really converse in that tongue; a smaller number, presumably people who had had more frequent contacts with Hudson's Bay Company personnel, were fluent in Chinook jargon, and a very limited number of Sitka people spoke Russian. As to aboriginal complexes retained, the ancient clan house was still built and used, and officially inaugurated with a major potlatch (with the occasional addition of windows) although by 1884 there was a very strong trend toward construction of small, individual-family homes at Sitka. Salmon, halibut, seal oil, and venison were still dietary mainstays, though they were cooked in iron pots, and often supplemented, by people convenient to stores and trading posts, by white foodstuffs, and of course the produce of native gardens. Shamanism and slavery were in full swing except at Sitka where determined efforts were made to suppress them. Clan chiefs retained considerable influence, and the matrilineal clans and the "moiety" system regulated marriage, inheritance, and a great many aspects of social behavior. Cremation of the dead, and observance of individual life crises rites continued in force. In brief, at the time of the first, albeit limited, authorized civil government of Alaska created by the act of 1884, the Indians of southeast Alaska were already highly acculturated in the areas of material culture and wealth economy, though preserving many aboriginal usages, and were aware of the need to learn and understand certain white techniques and values such as language, and reading and writing. Among a few there was an interest in Christianity. They

were also well indoctrinated in certain white vices, such as drinking and prostitution. In the fields of social organization, and for the majority, religion, there were no detectable changes from prehistoric patterns.

Formal education was combined with Christian missionization among the Indians in the 1870's. That mass-production historian, Bancroft, despite his efforts (or those of his hired help who wrote those chapters) to make a heroic figure of Baranof and glamorize the Russian fur traders, states that "it must be admitted that the Greek Church was a failure throughout Russian America" (Bancroft, 1886, p. 704). However, that church continued its efforts after American purchase of the Territory, not only among the creoles, who for the most part continued to be devout Christians, but among the Indians also. To this day there are sizable Greek Orthodox congregations at Sitka and Hoonah, particularly. Protestant missionization was inaugurated at Fort Wrangell about 1876 by a Fort Simpson Tsimshian named Philip MacKay who with some of his fellow tribesmen had gone there to cut cordwood for the Army post. MacKay began to preach to the local Tlingit, and to teach them, as well, so they could read hymnals and the Bible. The commanding officer at the post gave MacKay a room to use, and assisted him to get books. Many Stikine were greatly interested; for the time they forgot intertribal enmities. Word of this interest reached various religious organizations in the States, and eventually the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions sent a Mrs. McFarland, who, in 1877, opened a girls' school at Wrangell, which operated successfully for some time. One of Commander Beardslee's first acts after his arrival at Sitka was to set up a school for the 60 or 70 white and creole (mostly creole) children at Sitka, "at which these children could be fitted to occupy their future position as United States citizens."[5] When, after a visit by Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions provided for a "lady missionary-teacher" for Sitka Indians, Commander Beardslee gave her a great deal of assistance, providing a suitable place for her school in the old Russian hospital, and so on. His relief, Commander Glass, as has been related, arbitrarily but effectively made school attendance compulsory for Indian children. This was the origin of the Sitka Industrial School, later the Sheldon Jackson School, and now Sheldon Jackson Junior College, in which hundreds of young Indians, mostly Tlingit and Haida, have been educated.

[5] Senate Doc. 71, 1882, pp. 34–35. This school was not for Indians, but is mentioned as indicative of Beardslee's genuine interest in civic progress. He started the school by: preparing a room for it in one of the Government buildings, taking up a subscription among his officers, nagging local businessmen into giving subscriptions, allocating $20 per month from a contingent fund made available to him by the Secretary of the Navy, and employing as teacher an educated creole woman by hiring her as official interpreter (taking her up on the ship's articles as an Able Seaman).

Other schools were started as well. The head of the Northwest Trading Company (apparently after some pressure by Commander Glass) authorized the construction of a schoolhouse adjacent to the company's Chilkat post (the site of present-day Haines), and the trader's wife, Mrs. Dickenson, an educated Tongass woman, taught there until a missionary teacher relieved her. Another school was established in 1881 at Hoonah, by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. By 1882, the mission schools for Indians in southeast Alaska numbered seven, six of which were operated in connection with Presbyterian missions (the affiliation of the seventh is not mentioned) (Jones, 1914, p. 246, and passim).

The Organic Act of 1884 provided that

> the Secretary of the Interior shall make needful and proper provision for the education of children of school age in the Territory of Alaska, without reference to race, until such time as permanent provision shall be made for the same, and the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated for this purpose. [23 Stat. L., 24, sec. 13.]

Nichols asserts that in the year this act was passed, and the fund made available, limited though it was, no use was made of it "through lack of ideas as to how best apportion it" (Nichols, 1924, p. 102). In 1885, according to the same historian, $25,000 was appropriated for the education of Alaskan children "without reference to race," and $15,000 for the support and education of Indian children in industrial schools. That same year the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Education agreed on the appointment of Dr. Sheldon Jackson as General Agent for Education in Alaska. Jackson, active in the missionary field, was primarily interested in education as a proselytizing technique. He realized that (even in that pre-inflation era) the amount of appropriated funds was insufficient for setting up a Territorial school system. He therefore used his influence as General Agent for Education (and he also could count on a potent backing in Congress) to expend most of the funds available to assist a going concern—the mission school system in the Panhandle. Thus, the mission schools got substantial subsidies from the annual fund, most of which was expended in this way (the appropriations for the school years 1886–87 to 1900–1901 ranged from $15,000 to $50,000, and averaged about $30,000 per year) (Senate Doc. 1093, 1913, note, p. 225). This materially assisted the program of Indian education, and at the same time sowed seeds of resentment among white Alaskans. Those unenfranchised citizens could not compete with Jackson in political influence. It is most probable that resentment, justified or not, against Jackson's interest in the natives and his ability to channel a large proportion of such funds as were available into the Indian educational program, contributed

to the anti-Indian discriminatory attitude that prevailed in Alaska up to the early decades of the 20th century.

In the 1890's, the subsidies to mission schools were whittled away. An act passed by Congress in 1900 provided for election of school boards in municipal corporations, and allocated 50 percent of license moneys collected in each municipality to its schools (Senate Doc. 1093, 1913, p. 225). This was apparently the beginning of the Territorial school system. In 1901, provision was made for schools for white children outside of incorporated towns, and in 1905 another act created an "Alaska fund" into which license fees were to be paid, and one-fourth of which was earmarked for schools. This act made the governor of the district ex officio superintendent of schools, and specified, among other things, that these schools were for "the education of white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life." Provision for the education of native (Indian and Eskimo) children remained directly under the Secretary of the Interior, and was supported by congressional appropriation. The native schools were actually operated by the Bureau of Education (a predecessor of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare). Thus the "two-school system" came into being, officially.[6]

The Indians had a ringside seat at the long struggle of white Alaskans for civil government and a measure of self-government. While it is to be doubted that the natives paid much attention at first, as time wore on and they became increasingly aware of the limitations placed upon them by their ambiguous status (since, not being treaty Indians they were not "wards" of the Government in the ordinary sense, but were at times treated as such), some of them must have recognized the similarity between their situation and that of the vociferously protesting whites. The story of Alaskan civil government is a lengthy and complex one that need be only sketched most briefly here. From the time of the purchase, 1867, 17 years passed before any provision was made for civil law.[7] During this period the only effective law was that dispensed by the naval commanders who from 1879 to 1884 gingerly tried to administer some sort of order by stretching their instructions "to protect American lives and property" close to the breaking point. Even then there was no way in which an Alaskan resident could

[6] Loc. cit. and Secs. 319–324. In 1906, $100,000 was appropriated for native education, and the following year appropriations were increased to $200,000 per year, remaining at that level for some time.

[7] The only acts Congress passed regarding Alaska were: one establishing a customs district (the entire Territory), with a collector of customs at Sitka and several deputy collectors; extension of sections of the act of 1834 (regulating commerce with Indians), which prohibited sale to Indians of liquor and firearms (interpreted ordinarily in Alaska as meaning breech-loading weapons); and an act approving the leasing of the fur-seal monopoly to the Alaska Commercial Co.; jurisdiction of U. S. District Courts in Oregon and California was extended to Alaska.

acquire real property, make a legal will, or perform any other normal function involving legal processes. A miner who, after firing five .34 caliber pistol slugs into a comrade's body in a drunken moment, was arrested by the naval commander and sent to be tried for assault with intent to kill before the United State District Court in Portland, was discharged by that court for want of jurisdiction — that is, there was no law against such an act in Alaska (although the same court a year or so earlier had hanged a Sitka Indian for the murder of a white man). Finally, in 1884, the first "Organic Act" for Alaska was passed. This act provided for an appointed governor, one judge, one marshal, a district attorney, a clerk, four commissioners, and four deputy marshals, and applied the laws of Oregon to the District (for Alaska was specifically *not* made an organized Territory by this act). The trials and tribulations of Alaskans under this system—the fact that the Oregon code did not fit (for instance, it ascribed certain functions to incorporated towns and counties, which did not exist in Alaska), need not be gone into here. Bit by bit, more legislation was passed: major steps were a criminal code provided in 1899 and a civil code in 1900, both drafted to fit Alaskan conditions; in 1906, provision for election of a delegate to Congress (a mass meeting had elected one in 1881, but he was refused admission by the House Committee on Elections); and finally in 1912 an elective legislature was provided for. What is more important are the methods used by white Alaskans to call the attention of Congress to their plight. They held mass meetings, drafted petitions to Congress and to various Presidents, they sent representatives to lobby on Capitol Hill, and formed nonpartisan organizations, such as the Arctic Brotherhood, to urge their demands. Alaskan newspapers were full of discussions of the issues, and being good frontier newspapers did not bother with subtleties, but expressed themselves bluntly and forcefully. The famous Valdez resolution telegraphed to President Theodore Roosevelt on the day of his inauguration in 1905, though a more spectacular expression than most, was fairly typical of the tone of the day.[8] I have no concrete evidence that the Tlingit and Haida, as they became more and more literate, more involved in the industrial economy of Alaska, and more acutely aware of their problems, were directly influenced by the tumult that accompanied the white residents' campaign. If, however, Indian leaders, at least, were not interested, and did not learn something about

[8] The resolution read, "On behalf of 60,000 American citizens in Alaska who are denied the right of representation in any form, we demand, in mass meeting assembled, that Alaska be annexed to Canada." The idea was apparently to create a sensation that would produce some action; although there had been some talk of annexation to Canada in the Klondike rush period, after people observed the swift efficient manner in which civil government, law and order, and some measure of self-government were set up in Yukon Territory, it seems that no serious interest in the idea developed until about 1911 (Nichols, 1924, pp. 246, 366, and passim).

white American techniques for influencing legislation, they must have been singularly unaware of what was going on around them. To assume that they were so obtuse would come close to insulting their intelligence. I am certain they were considerably affected by the turbulent scenes about them.

Mission activity continued over the years, becoming more and more important in native life. Various Christian sects were active at different times.

The Greek Orthodox Church is said to have increased its activities and its influence for a time. A Roman Catholic Mission was established at Fort Wrangell in the 1870's but did not prosper. The Friends, the Salvation Army, and the Methodist-Episcopal Church also entered the field (Episcopalian, Congregational, and Moravian missionaries began work in other parts of Alaska). But the Presbyterian Church was most active in southeast Alaska and with its enthusiastic Alaskan representative, Sheldon Jackson, came to have great influence. In the first two decades of the 20th century it attained a peak in importance in the Indian villages (I do not mean to imply that it is not influential still, but there was at that time a great surge of interest among the Indians). The Presbyterian missionaries were being supported strongly by graduates of Sitka Training School, who had matured and taken their places as leaders in their home communities. It suddenly became very popular to join the Church. The missionaries urged abandonment of old customs, and adoption of "civilized" life. It was at the behest of the Presbyterian missionary at Kake that that village cut down its row of totem poles, built a wooden sidewalk, and requested a charter as an "organized village"—being the first native community in Alaska to do so, a fact of which Kake people are very proud. By 1912 the great majority of Tlingit and Alaskan Haida were members of a Christian church, were economically dependent on commercial fishing, and were heavily dependent as well on white material culture: clothing, firearms, tools, traps, fishing gear, and to some extent on purchased foods such as coffee, flour, sugar, and the like. A fair proportion of the younger and middle-aged people spoke English with some ease, and were literate. A few had attended Indian schools in the States, Chemawa and Carlisle; others were in the process of being educated in those "outside" schools.

HISTORY

The Alaska Native Brotherhood was founded in 1912 by a group of men from various communities (though most of them were from or lived in, Sitka) who met in Sitka for the purpose. This first organizational meeting is nowadays regarded as the first of the

Brotherhood's annual conventions, though properly speaking it was not a convention. The original founders numbered 10.[9] All were men who were not only quite acculturated, but who specifically were strongly influenced by the Presbyterian missionaries of Sitka Training School (later "Sheldon Jackson School"). This influence was manifest in the emphasis in Brotherhood policy on Christian ideals and morality. All 10 of the founders were themselves not only members of Presbyterian congregations but were regarded as especially outstanding leaders in church work in their respective communities. In addition certain missionaries at Sitka appear to have encouraged the founding of the organization, and contributed advice and guidance. A Dr. Wilbur, a medical missionary stationed at Sitka Training School at that time, was mentioned as having been of especial assistance to the founder (Alaska Fisherman, vol. 1, No. 6, 1924). In the years immediately following the founding, many prominent Indians of southeast Alaska joined—nearly all of them were active members of the Presbyterian Church, which at that time was vigorously expanding its mission activities throughout southeast Alaska.[10]

Prior to the founding of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, church-affiliated societies had been organized in nearly every Presbyterian mission. These were ordinarily started by the resident missionary, or by the missionary's wife in the case of women's groups, and followed the usual pattern of church societies in white Protestant congregations, both in form and functions. Officers were chosen by election; business meetings were conducted according to standard rules of preliminary procedure. Purposes of these groups included Bible study, familiarization with church ritual, and charitable and civic acts. Each of these organizations was strictly a local affair, limited to the local mission congregation (that the same or similar names occurred in several villages is to be attributed to the pattern of nomenclature of such societies in the parent church). It is also important to note that in a few exceptional cases only did any of these societies survive for more than a few years the transfer of the individual missionaries who founded them, a measure of the close control maintained by those persons.

The significant thing about these early societies from the acculturational point of view is that they provided a training ground in which white techniques of group cooperation could be learned. They had

[9] They were Ralph Young, Paul Liberty, Frank Price, and Peter Simpson, residents of Sitka (Simpson was actually of Tsimshian ancestry); Frank Mercer and James Watson, of Juneau; Eli Katanook, of Angoon; Jim Johnson of Klawock; and Seward Kuntz and George Fields, whose residences I neglected to record.

[10] Rev. Edward Marsden, of Metlakatla, for example, may be mentioned as one of the group who affiliated themselves with the Brotherhood in its earliest years.

elected officers: presidents, vice presidents, secretaries, treasurers, and others. They had business meetings, conducted by rules of parliamentary procedure. (Elections and rules of order were also being taught in connection with the village councils that many missionaries established.) The societies had definite goals, social as well as religious; they campaigned for worthy causes, and raised funds through missionary approved methods (bazaars, basket socials, etc.) to further their causes. At a time when the aboriginal way of life had been disrupted beyond repair by white civilization, and when the Indian appeared to have but two choices—to become acculturated or to become extinct—this type of group organization, itself white-approved, offered a ready-made mode of attacking the Indian's problems.[11]

The New Covenant Legion, at the Sitka Presbyterian Mission, was typical of these early church societies. It was founded by George Beck, who was at that time a lay worker at the Sitka Mission (he later was ordained and served as missionary at Kake). Beck was assisted by a mixed-blood Tlingit woman, Mrs. Tamaree (formerly Mrs. Paul). Mrs. Tamaree was highly acculturated, a devout church-worker, and, as well, a person of considerable influence among the Indians. The New Convenant Legion held weekly meetings. Its membership was drawn from the native congregation of the mission church, including both men and women. The society had a full set of elective officers. Bible study constituted one of the major activities; social problems, particularly the desirability of the abolition of both aboriginal customs and the use of alcoholic beverages, were frequent topics of discussion. Both Beck and Mrs. Tamaree were transferred to other mission stations and duties after a time, and the group disbanded. It is said, however, that most of the founders of the Brotherhood had been members of this society.

In Klawock, about the year 1909, the Presbyterian missionary encouraged members of his congregation to form an organization which they called the "Brotherhood of Klawock." This society, like the New Covenant Legion at Sitka, was patterned after white

[11] None of my informants mentioned the Arctic Brotherhood as a source of inspiration for the Indian organization, but I suspect most strongly that it offered them a model. The Arctic Brotherhood began as a sort of fraternal order of Klondikers. It soon became politically minded, working for Alaskan self-government. In 1909, it had sufficient influence that President Taft accepted an invitation to a special convention in Seattle, at which he was installed as "Honorary Past Grand Arctic Chief"—though in a speech he dismayed the membership by reaffirming his opposition to the organization's goal (Nichols, 1924, pp. 329–333). In the year the Alaska Native Brotherhood was formed, the Arctic Brotherhood, along with other organizations of white Alaskans, had won a major victory, the act of 1912, which authorized a Territorial legislature, and thereby a great increase in Alaskans' control of their own affairs. The use of the term "brotherhood," and of such designations as "Grand Camp," "Grand President," etc., in the native organization, duplicating Arctic Brotherhood usage, seems to corroborate the suggestion as to this source of influence.

church groups, and had about the same formal organization and the same type of activities. One former member of this group recalls that a function regarded as important was the appointing of a "sick committee" whose duty it was to visit the sick, both to console them and to render practical aid such as getting in their firewood. The organization also drew on its treasury to pay or help pay the fare of any person who had to go to town for medical attention. The Brotherhood of Klawock was one of the more successful of the early societies. It continued to function for a number of years, finally affiliating with the Alaska Native Brotherhood in the early 1920's. Its local strength is demonstrated by the fact that on the insistence of its membership it was permitted to retain, through a special arrangement, its own bylaws after the merger rather than adopting those prescribed for local chapters by the Alaska Brotherhood.

About 1912 and the years following, there were a number of women's societies organized in various villages. As a rule they were started by the wife of the local missionary, with membership recruited from the feminine portion of the local congregation. At Kake, for example, the wife of George Beck, who had by that time been assigned there as missionary, with the assistance of Mrs. Stuteen, a Tlingit woman who was one of the early members of the Presbyterian congregation there, organized a "Women's Village Improvement Society." According to Mrs. Stuteen, Mrs. Beck told them that she was patterning the organization after a women's society to which she had belonged in her home town in the Eastern United States before coming to Alaska. This organization had regular meetings which were opened with prayer and hymns and readings from the Bible. The members elected officers including the president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer, and appointed various committess. One of the important committees was the "sick committee" which functioned among the women of Kake as did the sick committee of the Brotherhood of Klawock, visting the sick and giving them assistance of various sorts. The society soon established a pattern which became prominent in its lineal successor, the Alaska Native Sisterhood. In the very early days of its founding the members raised funds by giving socials and basket suppers and the like, and they gave this money for various projects of community benefit. On one occasion when a board sidewalk was to be built (or rebuilt) at Kake, the Women's Village Improvement Society raised $400 to pay for materials and the sawing of lumber for the walk, and some $90 for food which the women prepared and served to the men who contributed the labor. Similar organizations were founded in other communities. There was the Women's Village Improvement Society at Hoonah which continued to function at least

into the early 1920's, after the Alaska Native Sisterhood had been founded. At Klawock, the Women's Missionary Society (that may not be the exact title of the organization) was established by the wife of the same missionary who inspired the founding of the Brotherhood of Klawock.

In short, it is plain that there was little about the source of inspiration of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, or about its formal pattern, or, as we shall see later, its original function, that distinguished it from the numerous associations founded among the Indians at about the same period. The principal, unique feature, and the one that contributed to its success where the others eventually failed, appears to have been its nonlocal character. That is to say, from the first it was envisaged as an organization that was to be represented by local chapters (called "Camps") in various communities. It appears, too, that the local units were not directly managed by white missionaries, and that therefore the native members were forced to take a greater responsibility in keeping the groups going. Perhaps for this reason the Brotherhood survived its early years.

The Brotherhood had not been in existence for more than 2 or 3 years, it was related, when the suggestion was made that a woman's auxiliary be formed. According to one informant the feminine unit was first called "Daughters of Alaska," a name later changed to the present one, "Alaska Native Sisterhood," to parallel that of the men's group. As the Sisterhood was introduced in one village after another, is usually, though not invariably, took over the existing women's societies, lock, stock and barrel. This is what occurred at Kake, for instance, where the Village Improvement Society, existing officers and all, became the Kake Camp of the Sisterhood on receipt of a charter from the parent organization. At Hoonah, however, I was given to understand that a chapter of the Sisterhood was established, and coexisted with the local Village Improvement Society for some years. Many women belonged to both simultaneously.

The first chapters or camps of the Brotherhood were established at three places, Sitka, Juneau, and Douglas. For several years no new units were added. In 1915, most of the founders and prominent early members met at Metlakatla, during an "Educational Fair," put on by the Bureau of Education (which originally established native schools in Alaska, a function that was taken over in 1931 by the Alaska Native Service, the Alaskan unit of the Bureau of Indian Affairs). One informant insisted that at that time a number of Metlakatla people became interested, and formally established a Camp in their community, but he seems to have been in error, although a good deal of interest in the organization was aroused. Other persons, including a number of well-informed Metlakatlans, assured me that there never

had been a camp at Metlakatla. It seems to have been at this time that Rev. Edward Marsden became interested in the organization, however, and he had a great deal to do with establishing the Camp at Saxman, for he was then connected with the Mission in that Tlingit community. Other villages were slower in joining; it appears that it was not until the early 1920's that Camps came to be established in all the Indian communities in southeast Alaska except Metlakatla. Each Camp, incidentally, retains a numeral, or serial number, that indicates the relative time of its establishment. Thus, the Angoon Brotherhood Camp is "Camp No. 7," the seventh chapter to have been chartered. Brotherhood and Sisterhood Camps in each community were not necessarily started at the same time, and therefore may have different serial numbers.

A number of informants agree that one thing that hindered the spread of the organization in the early days was the persistence of ancient local jealousies and rancors that had carried over from unsettled feuds and wars. Just how conscious of this the missionary advisers of the early days of the organization were is a matter of doubt, but they seemed to have been unable to do very much about it. It is related that before Wrangell people could be seriously interested in participating, a formal settlement had to be made between them and certain of the Sitka clans because of surviving bitter feeling resulting from a "war" between them. A Wrangell man who had resided at Sitka and who joined the Brotherhood quite early played a leading part in arranging this settlement and was the principal emissary to Sitka. At what must have been a very remarkable ceremony, a formal treaty of peace was signed by the Wrangell and Sitka chiefs concerned. The peace treaty was written in English and was drawn up largely in terms of Western concepts.[12] Its signing, however, is said to have been accompanied by parts of the ancient aboriginal peacemaking ritual with the exchange of the gowakan ("deer") dancers (see Swanton 1908, p. 451). A year later the annual convention was held at Wrangell, and apparently the Wrangell Camp was organized.

By the mid-1920's, as has been remarked, nearly every Indian community in Southeast Alaska, always excepting Metlakatla, had a local branch of both the men's and the women's organizations, most of which have continued to function up to the present time. In the fall of 1952 there were active Brotherhood Camps at the following places: Angoon, Craig, Douglas, Haines, Hoonah, Hydaburg, Juneau, Kasaan (?), Kake, Ketchikan, Klawock, Kluckwan, Saxman, Sitka,

[12] A copy of this document is said to be preserved in the Alaskan historical library of the Territorial Museum in Juneau. A previous formal treaty of peace, signed by Sitkan and Wrangell chiefs, at the urging of Commander Beardslee, USN, was made in 1879 (U. S. Navy Dept., Naval Archives, Commanders' Letters, Sept.–Dec. 1879), but seems to have been forgotten.

Wrangell, and Yakutat. Alaska Native Sisterhood camps were active at the same places, except apparently at Kasaan, where none was reported, but instead there was a very active camp at Petersburg. The histories of these individual camps has not always been smooth. Kasaan, for instance, was not represented at the 1952 convention; in fact I was not aware there was a camp there until the appearance of the Grand Treasurer's report in which a contribution of money was reported from that town. As I understand, Kasaan is on the verge of disappearing as a community because of remoteness from sources of income; most of its population has moved elsewhere. There is no Brotherhood Camp at Petersburg. The Saxman Camp, it was said, was rather weak and inactive for a number of years, but in recent times has increased its membership and its activities markedly. At Haines, the men are said to have lost interest for a time, so that their Camp was completely inactive in 1950–51. In 1952 it had been rejuvenated and was back in full swing.

As has been related, from its inception the Alaska Native Brotherhood was patterned after white lodges and societies. It therefore had to have a constitution and bylaws to define its formal organization and functions. Presumably such a document was drafted when the Brotherhood was founded, perhaps written in longhand, but the first printed constitution appeared in 1918. Because of some amendments (and perhaps exhaustion of the original supply), a new edition which introduced extensive changes was published in 1920. More recent editions, published about 1936 and in 1948, follow the pattern of the 1920 version closely, except insofar as they include amendments made since that time. The texts of the 1918 and 1948 versions are given in Appendixes 1 and 2. It may be noted that among other things the earliest constitution makes no mention of or provision for is the Sisterhood, which was almost certainly in existence at the time. Other points of difference will be brought out in discussing policies of the organization.

FORMAL ORGANIZATION

The formal structure of the Alaska Native Brotherhood is defined in its constitution. The central organization is known as the Grand Camp. This Grand Camp is the body that meets at the annual convention held, usually, during the week of the second Monday in November. It consists of various elective officers of the Brotherhood and Sisterhood, three delegates from each local Camp (one of whom is normally the president of the local Camp) of the Brotherhood, and three from each local unit of the Sisterhood, and the Executive Committee. The officers of the Grand Camp, who are ex officio members of the Executive Committee, include the Grand President, Grand Vice

President (several vice presidents may be elected if the convention sees fit to do so), Grand Secretary, and Grand Treasurer. The Alaska Native Sisterhood has the same officers, although only its Grand President serves on the Executive Committee. Other members of the Executive Committee include the past Grand Presidents of the organization. Prior to 1936 this committee included all past Grand Officers of the organization, but after a series of changes, only former Grand Presidents were included.

When the convention is not in session the Executive Committee is empowered to act for the entire organization. This committee is, according to the constitution, bound to be governed by resolutions and motions passed by the convention and is not authorized to set aside the expressed will of the convention. In actual practice the group has considerable power. Since a number of the grand presidents have held that office for several terms the committee is somewhat smaller than might be expected. Most of its members have been leaders in Brotherhood affairs for a great many years. There has been at times a slight amount of dissatisfaction, particularly among the younger men, with the power of the Executive Committee and its remoteness from the rank and file of the organization. About 1936 a resolution was passed whereby part of the membership of the Executive Committee would be drawn from the ranks of the ex-officers and the other part was to be elective. Apparently this system did not work out very well and a year or so later it was dropped. The Brotherhood once more relied on its former officers to guide it. The principal difference after this time was that, as at present, only the past Grand Presidents are seated on the Executive Committee.

In 1952 the Executive Committee consisted of the 5 current Grand Officers, the Sisterhood Grand President, and 12 past Grand Presidents of the A. N. B. With the members of a body of this type scattered as they are all over southeast Alaska, it is obviously impractical for them to have frequent meetings. The constitution provides that five members of the committee shall constitute a quorum empowered to conduct any essential business once the entire committee has been properly notified. In case even so small a representation cannot be obtained, the committee may communicate by means of letters or telegrams.

Each of the subordinate Camps in the various communities in southeast Alaska is organized on receipt of a charter issued by the Grand Camp. Each Camp elects a number of officers including its chairman or president, vice chairman, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer, and a camp council composed of three members. There seems to have been a deliberate attempt to create a large number of offices in order to give as many people as

possible the opportunity of getting experience in the business of the organization.

Each Camp is supposed to meet at least once a month, except during the fishing season when meetings are ordinarily suspended. Local business is discussed, and also Grand Camp business, if there is any. The Grand Secretary is supposed to be responsible for maintaining most of the communication between the Grand Camp and the local units, through correspondence; in addition there may be subcommittees such as the political committee which have certain responsibilities for communicating with the Camps.

Apparently there is considerable variation as to regularity of local meetings, and attendance at them. Just before an annual convention, when delegates must be elected and instructed, funds raised to cover their expenses, and resolutions drafted for presentation to the convention, interest runs high, and meetings tend to be both frequent and well attended; after the convention, when delegates report, the same is true. At other times, there may be local problems that arouse interest. Between times interest may slacken, unless the camp's officers are adept at keeping it at high pitch.

Nearly every camp has its hall for meetings and other activities. Ketchikan and Petersburg were said to be the only places lacking halls in 1952, and the Ketchikan Camp arranged to purchase a building in the fall of 1953. These Brotherhood halls vary from old, none-too-large structures in need of repair to huge well-equipped buildings like the new one at Hoonah, just completed in time for the 1952 convention at a cost of nearly $50,000.[13] Typically, they have an open floor area, large enough for a basketball court (though some courts are on the small side), that serves as well for public meetings, the showing of motion pictures, and large social functions, a stage at one end of the court, rest rooms, and frequently a well-equipped kitchen for preparing and serving refreshments. Heating plants vary from wood stoves to the most modern type of oil furnaces with blower systems. These halls fill a major need in the social life of the villages, where there are no other adequate gathering places for group activities (some village churches of course have lounges or social rooms, and some schools have rooms that can be made available, but the Brotherhood hall is not only neutral ground, and regarded as really community property, but it also is spacious enough for almost any local need). This usage has the virtue of focusing attention on the Brotherhood, and making its hall the community center in a very real sense.

An aspect of the camp organization that should be noted is the insistence of the old local groups on maintaining their identities in a

[13] This figure includes the computed cost of labor, based on man-days worked at going rates, although actually labor was provided free by local men.

number of cases. Elderly informants and early observers agree that the Tlingit "tribes," the several clan lineages that jointly shared a winter village, had no real unity. The autonomous political unit was the local clan. Nonetheless, while there may have been no formal unity in the winter-village group composed of several clans, there was at least a feeling it was preferable to associate with one's neighbors, rather than with complete outsiders. Various people have recommended the merging of the Juneau and Douglas Camps, for example. The two communities are not far apart and now have facile access via good roads. The "real" Juneau people, excluding the casual visitors to town who for the most part do not participate in local Camp activities in the city anyway, are principally descendants of the inhabitants of the old winter village at Auk Bay. The Douglas group are descendants of the old Takukwan (Taku Inlet people). Nonetheless, the two small camps were organized separately in the beginning and have maintained that separation up to the present day. The same is true of the camps at Ketchikan and Saxman. They also have remained separate and distinct, although it would seem more efficient for them to join forces. The Saxman people consist primarily of the old Sanyakwan or "People of Cape Fox," and the Indian community of Ketchikan consists principally of the descendants of the Tongass group plus a sprinkling of outsiders from various parts of southern Alaska as well as a good many Tsimshian from Matlakatla. While Sanyakwan and Tongasskwan have been neighbors and are considerably interrelated through ties of blood and marriage and have been so for generations, they have regarded themselves as separate groups and continue to do so today. Their local chapters of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Sisterhood are quite separate.

The initiation fee to membership in the local Camps is $10, and the annual dues are $12 (the latter having been increased since publication of the 1948 edition of the constitution). Fifty percent of the initiation fees and annual dues collected by the local camps must be forwarded to the Grand Treasurer for the use of the Grand Camp. In addition, each local camp is assessed a certain amount of money by the annual convention (this sum is designated the "annual budget"). These assessments range from $400 each which the Sitka and the Wrangell camps were assessed for the year 1952–53, to $150 assessed each of the camps at Haines, Saxman, and Petersburg for the same period. Normally the local Brotherhood camp attempts to raise half of this fund and the local Sisterhood the other half. In actual practice it is commonly admitted that the Sisterhood usually raises most of the money.

The expenses of the Grand Camp as of 1952 include the following: the Grand Secretary's salary of $1,800 a year; the Grand Treasurer's salary of $480 a year; a substantial amount ($3,000 approved for 1952–53) for use by the Executive Committee primarily in traveling expenses for meetings and similar business; allocations for office expenses of the secretary and treasurer; and various funds for legislative and legal purposes, the latter ordinarily involving the financing of defense of test cases, or cases concerning issues in which the Brotherhood as a whole is interested. For example, the 1952 convention authorized allocation of a sum of money for appealing the case of an Indian who had been found guilty of violation of fishing laws and fined—for using commercial gear to take fish for domestic use at a time when commercial fishing was restricted.

The obvious need for regular communication between the Grand Camp (represented by the Executive Committee out of convention), and the local Camps, was solved for a time by the publication of the Alaska Fisherman. This journal, established in 1923, for a period of approximately 10 years, was the official organ of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Each Camp was assessed a sum at an annual convention (presumably that of 1922) to be applied toward purchase of the press and establishment of the journal. The Kake camp is said to have made an especially generous contribution to the initial fund. Individual subscriptions helped meet operating costs, and in addition there was a certain income from advertising. The first few issues of the journal appeared somewhat irregularly but by 1924 the numbers were published regularly once a month. The predominant tone of the journal was political in line with the philosophy already current that the most effective manner in which the Alaska Native Brotherhood could attain its ends was through developing and using political influence. Particularly during election years were there discussions in the journal of Territorial officials and elective officers. In many instances there was very blunt criticism of the actions or policies of these public servants. In addition there were articles published frequently dealing with various aspects of the major policies of the Brotherhood: better education for Indian children; frequent exhortations to Indians living in white communities to pay taxes (though they could not legally be forced to do so at that time) and otherwise perform their civic duties; continuation of the bitter campaign against fish traps; and occasional articles inveighing against continuance of ancient customs. In addition, of course, there were various news items concerning the activities of local camps and, if appropriate, discussions of the principal features of annual conventions of the Brotherhood as they were held.

The Alaska Fisherman ceased to appear in the early 1930's. Since that time the Alaska Native Brotherhood has made no consistent attempt to maintain communication between its various camps and to inform its members through any regularly published organ.[14] Publication came to an end, according to one informant once connected with the staff, because of financial difficulties deriving from an unduly high overhead. Some persons insist the sale of the press that brought about the suspension of publication was arranged without the formal approval of the Brotherhood; a more probable version is that the plant was taken over by creditors through the usual legal steps. Many members of the organization took considerable pride in the journal and say that they would have liked to have it continued.

MEMBERSHIP

One is commonly told in the villages that "everyone [i. e., all the adults] in town" belongs either to the Alaska Native Brotherhood or to the Sisterhood. On questioning further, to find out who does not belong, and why, one meets with considerable reluctance on the part of informants to cite names and facts. The fact is that in most communities most of the adults are not members (at least in the technical sense of "paid-up members"), as the tabulation below shows. The figures on membership (table 1) were taken from the formal reports on "members in good standing" posted by each camp during the 1952 convention at Hoonah (a "member in good standing" is one who has paid his dues).

TABLE 1.—*Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood membership data, 1952*

Town	Alaska Native Brotherhood	Alaska Native Sisterhood	Total Indian-population [1]
Angoon	22	56	429
Craig	14	19	374
Douglas	18	16	94
Haines	[2]	[2]	338
Hoonah	35	40	[3]
Hydaburg	24	39	388
Juneau	[2]	15	882
Kake	40	66	376
Ketchikan	15	27	859
Klawock	9	6	404
Kluckwan	24	31	91
Petersburg	----------	12	[4]
Saxman	11	8	167
Sitka	22	41	602
Wrangell	17	25	376
Yakutat	10	[2]	298

[1] Population figures are from House Rept. No. 2503 (82d Cong.), pp. 1547 ff.
[2] No report.
[3] About 800. Hoonah is omitted from the tabulation of population cited; figure is approximation.
[4] Petersburg is omitted from the tabulation cited; elsewhere, the same report gives 191 as the Indian population in 1947.

[14] In recent years, various grand secretaries have sent, at irregular intervals, circular letters to all the camps relating to specific issues.

Filling the membership rolls is obviously something of a problem. It is not clear why this should be so, especially in the native villages (Indian residents of cities like Juneau, Sitka, and the rest, of course, have numerous distractions). Some persons with whom the matter was discussed believed that low-income level was to blame, especially in years of poor fishing seasons like 1952. Others compared the difficulty of collecting dues to that of collecting taxes, blaming the short-sighted attitude of individuals who are reluctant to put out money for which they do not get an immediate tangible return. Plain lack of interest may account for certain cases of failure to join or to remain in the organization. However, this reflects at most an indifferent attitude; there appears to be no formal opposition to the organization, individual or organized.

I was told by a number of people that there had been a Brotherhood Camp at Petersburg, but that it had become inactive "because most of the young Indian men from Petersburg are in the Army now." Yet in 1947 (the year of the most recent census figure I could find for that town), 191 persons classified as Indians lived in Petersburg. Perhaps there are fewer now, but one may suspect that loss of interest may have contributed to the demise of that chapter. People do not like to admit this, however. Apparently the A. N. B. has become a symbol of Indian solidarity in southeast Alaska, so there seems to be a feeling that all Indians should be interested in it, and should belong to it.

Again, Hoonah, the largest Indian village in southeast Alaska, reported a total of 35 members in good standing in the Brotherhood and 40 in the Sisterhood. Of course it is true that most of the people in the community cooperate with the Brotherhood and Sisterhood and support them in various other ways. For example, I was told by the man who acted as timekeeper, that when the new Alaska Native Brotherhood hall at Hoonah was being put up early in 1952, one hundred fifty-some-odd men volunteered for labor, turning out in one or the other of the usual three work gangs during the 2 months it took to complete the rough construction.[15] In the weeks immediately preceding the convention during which the interior of the hall was finished and the specialized jobs such as installing of wiring, plumbing, heating plant, etc. were being carried on, there was no lack of assistance. In other words, most of the young and middle-aged able-bodied men and many of the elderly ones gave liberal free labor to help build the hall. They also contributed a considerable sum of money for the purchase of materials. A great deal of this was raised by donations. Numerous individuals, whether members in good standing or not, attended regu-

[15] This was all volunteer unpaid labor; time was kept, I was told, to make possible the computation of the value of the hall (and also to put pressure on the slothful?).

lar A. N. B. meetings and would find occasion to take the floor and announce a certain donation toward the hall. Benefit movies were also shown for the hall and were very well attended by the members of the community who contributed in that way. I do not have a detailed breakdown on the source of funds (except that I was told that various camps sent $100 contributions to assist construction of the new hall after the old one burned down), but most of the $11,700 reported by the Hoonah camp as the cost of materials for the hall was raised locally and represents donations by local people. In other words, despite what appears to be rather low membership, the Hoonah Camp could count on and get very substantial local support.

Perusal of the membership reports brings out the interesting fact that in 9 out of the 12 cases in which figures were given for both Brotherhood and Sisterhood camps, the women's organizations had larger paid-up memberships. This is consistent with the generally recognized greater activity of the Sisterhood camps, and their great effectiveness in fund raising. For example, at Angoon I was told that the Sisterhood chapter met early on the evening at which financial arrangements were to be made for sending the Angoon delegation to the 1952 convention. When the men finally assembled, the women proudly announced that there was nothing left to arrange: the Sisterhood had collected all the money necessary. This sort of thing appears to be typical, and is one of the chief reasons for the oft-repeated saying that "the Alaska Native Sisterhood is the backbone of the Brotherhood."

It is recognized by the leaders of the Brotherhood and of the Sisterhood that if the organizations are to continue successfully they must bring in the younger people. Various methods have been, and are being, tried to interest the younger generation in the work of the Brotherhood. There are various conflicting factors. In the Indian communities forming parts of the predominantly white towns like Wrangell and Juneau, not only are there numerous diversions and many distracting interests, but the young people's lesser familiarity with the Tlingit language in daily life and the elders' insistence on its use at the local meetings is considered a serious factor in alienating the younger people. Some years ago a plan was inugurated of establishing junior Brotherhood and Sisterhood camps in all the communities. These organizations did not require payment of dues, or at most required members to pay very modest dues, and were primarily aimed at giving the youths experience in conducting meetings according to parliamentary procedure and performing various minor services for the community. The idea was that as these young people grew older and began to be gainfully employed they would

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be "graduated" to membership in the senior chapter.[16] There were for a time chapters of the junior organizations at the secondary schools at Sitka, the Sheldon Jackson School and the Government-operated Mount Edgecumbe. These junior organizations did not prove very successful. Apparently there was not enough for the young people to do, not enough real accomplishment open to them to maintain interest among the membership; at least this seems to have been true in most cases.

The chapters at the two secondary schools seem to have been more active and probably were more effectively supervised by certain of the teachers who utilized them in training in student government. In one instance one of the younger organizations that seems to have functioned more effectively and kept going while most of the others had fallen by the wayside, that in Juneau, became involved in a feud with its parent organization. A group of its older members insisted that they did not have to transfer membership to the old people's organization "where all they would do would be to hear the old people make interminable speeches" in a language the young men did not understand—Tlingit—and contribute their dues. They insisted they wanted to become a separate chapter with full adult standing. This caused considerable hard feeling. Finally the charter of the junior organization was revoked at an annual convention, and the whole junior chapter plan was abandoned. It developed at the Hoonah convention in 1952, however, that the dozen or so members of the Sisterhood Camp at Petersburg had unofficially established a junior Sisterhood chapter there which after a couple of years was proving highly successful. It was, in their estimation, the only way that they could stimulate interest and could expect to recruit young women into the older group eventually. Some of the members gave the girls' organization active and intelligent supervision and were making quite a success of it. It was finally resolved that the convention should issue a formal charter to the junior group, establishing them as a junior Sisterhood Camp. Incidentally, it was related that in addition to the Indian and mixblood girls in this Petersburg group, the 35 members included several girls with minimal amounts of Indian blood, 2 white girls with no Indian blood at all, and 1 girl of Japanese descent.

Another approach to the problem of interesting younger people has been the formal support of A. N. B. basketball teams by the local camps. Basketball is a popular sport in the region and the A. N. B.

[16] There is no specific lower age limit on membership in the Brotherhood and Sisterhood. Various persons said young men and women were eligible "at about eighteen, when they finish school and begin to work and make money" (for payment of initiation fees, dues, and miscellaneous contributions).

halls with their large open floor areas are quite usable for the game, in fact many of them were designed to provide a court. Most of the camps sponsor local tournaments and arrange schedules with the A. N. B. teams of other communities. Some of the stronger chapters have also entered their teams in an all-Southeast Alaska Gold Medal basketball tournament sponsored by the Lions Club of Juneau. Several of the teams, although they did not end up among the upper bracket groups, received awards for good sportsmanship. Of course it is a fairly expensive undertaking to field a team in one of the tournaments, in consideration of the costs of uniforms and transportation and other expenses that must be met. However, it appears that the Camps that have been able to do it have benefited from increased interest in Brotherhood activities by the younger members of the community.

Another technique that has been utilized is to include a young man and a young woman in the delegation sent to an annual convention. Attending an annual convention of the Alaska Native Brotherhood is an impressive experience, as this writer can attest. Leaders in the organization feel that giving some of the younger people an opportunity to see the work that is done and the serious purpose behind the organization will rouse their interest. This is probably true. Several of the younger delegates volunteered comments along those lines during the convention at Hoonah. However, it seems possible that the very obvious retention of control by the elderly leaders through the "old China hand" organization of the Executive Committee, the assignment of the Executive Committee members as chairmen of all important committees during the convention, and dominance over other important offices tended to discourage the young people and in that way partly negate the value of the experience. A major step taken in 1953 to overcome this trend was the election of two progressive young men as Grand President and Grand Secretary.

INSIGNIA

Like fraternal orders and similar groups among the whites, the A. N. B. has its colors and badges. The colors are red and yellow, "red for the salmon and yellow for the gold of Alaska." The official sashes, worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm bandolier-fashion, display these colors in the form of a wide strip of buckskin backed with red felt. The letters "ANB" are worked on the buckskin, usually, I believe, in the form of red felt applique. This combination is pleasing in effect, and the sashes, worn over dark suits on formal occasions such as installation of grand officers, are quite dressy. I do not know where these sashes come from; probably

they are made up by members of the Sisterhood and sold for the benefit of the Sisterhood (and ultimately the Brotherhood) treasury. Displays of the colors in more common commercial tones are made with paper bunting to decorate the hall, on uniforms of basketball teams, and the like. Another sort of badge is the lapel pin, with a disk about ⅜-inch diameter displaying the letters "ANB" transversed by a stylized arrow, in gold on a white background. These are ordered from a commercial source by the Grand Treasurer for resale to members of the organization. Originally, the lapel pin had the form of a miniature gold pan, of gold, containing a couple of small nuggets (a motif that has since become highly commercialized in the Alaskan curio trade). I neglected to find out when the change in design was made, but only a handful of old-time members still have the gold-pan type of pins.

The Sisterhood has its own colors, blue and white, with symbolic reference taken from white American concepts: the blue represents fidelity ("true-blue"), the white, purity. These colors are used in the Sisterhood sashes. A wide blue band, with white edges, bears the letters "ANS" in white (applique or beadwork). On the ritual occasions, sashes are worn over rather plain white dresses, which, though short-sleeved and of modern length, somehow manage to suggest the unlovely "Mother Hubbards" imported by missionaries into the South Seas. I believe the Sisterhood has an official pin, but I neglected to make note of its design.

In addition to its visual symbols, the organization has its official song, as well, "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Formal meetings are opened with the singing of this stirring hymn. In its selection, missionary influence on the Brotherhood is manifest; in addition, the choice seems to symbolize, in the thinking of the members, the ideal of an aggressive attitude oriented toward "progress."

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

There is no question but that the leadership of the Alaska Native Brotherhood was of key significance in all the phases of the organization's development. Although the Brotherhood's structure and procedures do permit considerable rank-and-file expression both of area of interest and of opinion, through the camps' resolutions drafted before each annual convention, most definition of policy and strategy occurs on the Executive Committee level. It is therefore worth while to examine the patterns of leadership. I may add also that this is a difficult undertaking. There have been differences of opinion, and personality conflicts as well, in the organization, which from the historian's point of view complicate the process of description. In

these situations, practically all informants have taken a stand one way or the other, and thus their data are biased toward one or the other side.

We may begin with that aspect of the problem that can be treated in general terms; one which does not involve individual personalities. The founders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood exemplify one important leadership pattern. All of them, so far as I was able to learn, were highly acculturated individuals. The majority were residents of Sitka, either members of the Sitka Indian community, or persons who had lived there a long time. Most of the founders had been educated in the Sitka Training School; all were strongly influenced by Presbyterian missionaries, and were themselves quite active in church affairs. They were therefore quite prominent among acculturated, mission-minded Indians—and it will be recalled that at about the time of the association's founding, effective missionary activity had developed a tremendous interest in the Presbyterian Church. In other words, these men were in the fore, and much in the public eye, as leaders among the people inclined toward adoption of white standards and values, and at that day this included a large number of the Indians of southeast Alaska. It is worth mentioning too that the 10 founders were men who had achieved some success in adapting themselves to white American culture. At the same time, they found themselves hampered in dealings with whites by, first, their limited education (which, though advanced for Indians of the day, was inadequate to prepare them to compete on equal terms with whites), and, second, the ambiguous status of Alaskan natives.

Since even today the ancient attitude of respect toward persons of high rank prevails in southeast Alaska, it seemed logical to inquire into the statuses of the Brotherhood's founders in the native social system. This proved unexpectedly difficult. Informants who could be expected to know the most about chiefs' lineages, etc., tended to generalize: "Of course they (the founders) were high-class people—otherwise we would not have paid any attention to them." The reluctance to go into detail on this topic, and what seemed to me to be a slightly defensive attitude in regard to it, suggested to me that some, at least, of the Brotherhood's founders were actually not of high-rank families. Several of them, whatever their kinship to noble lines may have been, had been so separated from their proper clans that they could not have relied on the organized support of these units. Peter Simpson, for example, was a Tsimshian originally from Metlakatla. While the Metlakatlans of his generation remained far more conscious of clan, rank, and tribe than Father Duncan realized, Simpson, who had lived at Sitka for years, had no real backing from his own people. Mr. Ralph Young, who was, in 1952,

the only surviving member of the 10 founders and who played the role of elder statesman most skillfully, though born and brought up at Sitka (like at least two generations of his forebears), was considered to really "belong" to another community—Hoonah or Angoon, which, my notes do not make clear. His following at Sitka came from those of all clans and ranks who respected him for his progressive attitude toward culture change, and had nothing to do with such rank and status as he may have had. Eli Katanuk, of Angoon, on the other hand, was definitely of good family, and was closely related to a clan chief. The men who joined the movement during its early years, and who attained some eminence among the leaders, included a number of bearers of important titles. Chester Worthington, of Wrangell, was said to have been one of these. Louis Shotridge, a Chilkat who was associated with the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania for many years, was of high rank. I do not know just what the Rev. Edward Marsden's title would have been, had the Metlakatlans not abandoned the custom of formally bestowing those hereditary honors, but he was of the Gitlän tribe, and well-enough connected so that he had the solid backing of that close-knit and powerful faction in all village affairs, although he apparently did not attempt to lead his people into the Brotherhood. In fine, the general picture seems to be that in its early years, A. N. B. leaders came from the sectors of the Indian population who were already most acculturated, and thus most aware of the problems involved in competing in the white man's world. Some were of high rank, holders of important titles, others probably were not; at the time it made no difference, even among the rank-conscious Tlingit (and Haida). What mattered was that these men were taking the lead in the attempt to work out a solution of the Indian's problem, one which was coming to be of great popular interest.

The same pattern continued to operate in subsequent years. As better educated young men, some of whom had attended Chemawa and Carlisle, in the States, and one or another of various universities, returned to Alaska, they were drawn into the leader group of the Brotherhood. Such men include William L. Paul, Sr., and his brother Louis, Andrew Hope, Sr., Frank G. Johnson, Frank Peratrovich, and others among their contemporaries. As in the case of the early leaders, some of these men were, and some were not, high in the native social scale. They were accepted as leaders because of their sophistication and ability to cope with white culture, and with white men, on even terms. This situation is about what one would predict for a group among whom acculturation had become a major interest, even though attitudes toward rank did not change the while.

On a different echelon, that of the local level, a very different leadership pattern occurred. There, the active leaders in Brotherhood affairs, those who got the individual camps organized, and who managed them for years, either directly or through variations on the power-behind-the-throne motif, were in the greater number of cases chiefs, men who held ranking titles in their respective clans, or were in the line of succession to such titles. Many of these men were "conservatives" in many respects, especially in those relating to the traditional social usages—they performed the appropriate memorial rites, and formally assumed their ancestor's titles (clan-owned "chief's names"). The significant point is that these chiefs were, so to speak, selectively conservative. They held the line most stubbornly in some matters; in others, they were as enthusiastic for culture change as any of the educated young sophisticates. Numerous examples might be cited; I shall mention only a few. Charlie Jones, holder of the "Chief Shakes" (wicekc) title at Wrangell, an elderly man when the Brotherhood was established, became (apparently through Worthington's influence) one of its most ardent supporters.[17] He did not attempt to operate on the Executive Committee level—he spoke little English, and was not literate. But he did make a point of organizing a camp among the Stikine, seeing that interest in it was sustained, and in encouraging young men to participate actively. William Paul, Sr., has assured me that his own original interest in the organization, when he returned to Alaska after completing his education, was largely aroused because of wicekc influence and urging. Jimmy Young, of Hoonah, who is the chief of the Tcukunedi clan there, built, with appropriate ceremonies, one of the two clan houses at Hoonah to replace his former clan house, after the holocaust of 1944 that destroyed the village. Throughout his life he is reported to have been meticulous in carrying out his clan duties, and those connected with his status. At the same time, he is considered to have been the founder of the Hoonah Brotherhood Camp, the person who took the lead in getting the local unit started. He took a very active part in camp affairs for many years. Charles Newton, at Kake, who was a key figure in the Salvation Army organization there, as well as in the local Brotherhood Camp, was also a clan chief. Sam Johnson of Angoon, although he delayed in assuming his hereditary name until a few years ago, has been active in Angoon camp affairs since the chapter was founded. He emphasized that his (maternal) uncle, the chief whose title he eventually inherited, had urged him to take part in the new organization.

[17] Jones was not of the direct family line in which this prestigeful title descended, but of a collateral one. He inherited the position on extinction of the direct (matrilineal) line of heirs. He was however highly respected because of his rank, his personality, and his insistence on strict observation of many ancient usages.

There appear to be several factors involved in each of these cases and the many others that could be listed. One of these is that all these men were, and are, natural leaders. When a new movement came along, they assumed it would be their responsibility to take the lead in adopting it, or blocking it, and the mass of the people looked to them for a decision. A second factor, which perhaps partly motivated the response just mentioned, is an attribute of chieftainship, in the "old-fashioned" Northwest Coast sense, which has not been adequately stressed in ethnographic descriptions. This is the obligation borne by a chief to exercise whatever powers he had, for the welfare of his people (that is, his clan, extended family, or whatever unit he headed), in return for the support his social unit gave him. Naturally, not all chiefs on the coast have given serious consideration to this recognized duty, but many of them have. Thus, a program that claimed betterment of the Indian's situation as its primary target was certain to receive thoughtful consideration and eventual support from just those chiefs who were most rigorously traditionalist in their general outlook. Third, it has so happened that the areas of interest of Tlingit conservatism and those of both missionary and Brotherhood progressivism do not overlap, by and large. This point will be elaborated on in another chapter, so I shall touch on it but lightly here, but it is unquestionably true. Such conflicts as did occur could be rationalized away by anyone with a modicum of ability for logical thought, mainly because of some peculiar misconstructions by early missionaries. Thus, the institution of the potlatch was condemned by many missionaries, and by the Brotherhood in its early days, as a pagan religious performance. One man told me of the study, the deep thought, and the soul searching he went through before he decided that he, a sincere, practicing Christian (indeed, he is a pillar of his church), a longtime active member of his Brotherhood Camp, could have his clan's house rebuilt, which necessarily meant that he must give a potlatch and assume the "chief's name" his maternal ancestors had proudly borne. He was able to resolve his doubts, so that he could carry out his duties to his clan. How he did so will be related in detail in another place; suffice it to say here that he arrived at a reasonable, satisfying conclusion.

Another factor motivating the clan chiefs to favor the Brotherhood was that many of them were already more deeply involved in commercial activities of white culture than the average Indian. That is to say, they were competing for big stakes in a bitter game whose rules they had to learn as they went along. That they have done as well as they have is all to their credit—the number of large well fitted-out seine boats in the fishing fleet owned by "conservative" chiefs or their immediate heirs speaks well for the acumen of those men, even allow-

ing for such factors as financial assistance from the clan, favoritism by cannery managers (because of a chief's control over his clanmates), etc. In any case, most of them knew from firsthand experience the handicaps the Indian labored under in the increasingly higher pressured new economy, and might be expected to favor anything that would smooth the way for themselves, their children, and their heirs.

The general membership—the rank and file—appear to be pretty well informed on Alaska Native Brotherhood policy as a whole, and on the history of the organization, although there are lacunae here and there in their information, and some of their facts have been interpreted with a factional slant. This seems to be the result of the regular meetings of the local units, and the efforts of Grand Secretaries to disseminate information by circular letters, and the like, since the Brotherhood's official magazine went out of business in the 1930's. There is a very marked feeling that the A. N. B. is the strength of the Indians, and all Indians, despite local rivalries, etc., should favor it. This attitude prevails among nonmembers, that is, people who are hopelessly behind in their dues, as previously remarked. There is no real opposition to the organization among the Tlingit, Haida, and most Tsimshian residing away from Metlakatla.[18]

The other aspect of organization leadership, which does not break down into general categories, but refers directly to personalities and personality clashes within the organization, must be taken up. While outwardly—that is to say toward whites in general, and toward certain Federal agencies with whose policies the Brotherhood disagrees—by mutual consent there is ordinarily (though not invariably) a united front, in the privacy of meetings of the association conflicts may come to sharp expression. The leadership is split into two major factions which oppose each other on numerous issues. This split extends to the rank-and-file of the organization. In some cases, at the local level the factionalism is accentuated by village factional patterns.

One of the divisions is that headed by William L. Paul, Sr., originally of Wrangell, who was ably seconded for many years by his brother, the late Louis F. Paul. The other faction, which currently includes a number of outstanding Indians, represents an opposition movement which was begun by Frank Peratrovich, of Klawock. Many modern informants are inclined to recount the history of their organization in terms of the early rise to dominance of the Paul brothers, the development of the opposition faction, and its gradual assumption of power. It is certain that these internal aspects of the Brotherhood's history have influenced it greatly.

[18] An attempt was made to start a rival organization in Juneau in the 1930's, but it soon came to naught. The initiator was a personal rival of one of the prominent Brotherhood leaders.

Both of the Paul brothers, who were children of highly acculturated mixblood parents, left Alaska at an early age, attending Carlisle and other educational institutions in the States. Louis returned to Alaska about 1918. According to William Paul, Louis became interested in the Brotherhood almost by chance. He was virtually high-pressured into attending a convention to serve as recording secretary, in the absence of the Rev. Edward Marsden, who up to that time had had a sort of monopoly on the position by virtue of his superior education.[19] Louis Paul's interest in the Brotherhood and its goals expanded, and, with characteristic incisiveness, he reformulated the somewhat vague aims of the founders, sharpening them into attacks on specific targets. When William Paul returned to Alaska a couple of years later, his brother Louis, and, so he related, the then "Chief Shakes," at Wrangell, urged him, and finally persuaded him, to join the organization. William Paul brought the Alaska Native Brotherhood a new resource, one which affected its strategy ever after his affiliation. He had not only studied law, but had been admitted to practice before the bar.[20] From the time of his entry, Brotherhood strategy has stressed attacks involving legal techniques—the lawsuit, the test case, etc.—on its problems. Informants' stated opinions differ as to the extent of effective support given by the organization to Paul's early campaigns. According to his partisans, William Paul fought his early battles practically singlehanded. He had the mass approval of the entire Indian population of the Territory, but effective aid was next to nonexistent. Paul's opponents claim that while his early victories were signal achievements, the Brotherhood gave him considerable active backing, financially and in other ways. No one attempts to detract from his accomplishments.

Mr. Paul from the outset labored under several major handicaps. Owing to his prolonged absence from Alaska in his youthful years, he could not speak or understand Tlingit adequately, and he knew very little of traditional Tlingit values, standards, and etiquette. Although in recent years he has made great efforts to improve his knowledge in these areas, he has from time to time unintentionally offended numerous important people among his socially sensitive compatriots. (His brother Louis, who for some reason was much more fluent in Tlingit and who understood the value system better, was able to smooth over some but not all of the conflicts thus occasioned.) The difficulty is compounded by the fact that Paul habitually utilizes

[19] An interesting point here was not mentioned by any Alaskan informant, Tlingit or Tsimshian, but was brought up by certain well-informed Canadian Tsimshian. This was that the Paul brothers more or less froze Marsden out of the organization, or else the latter lost interest when he had to share his role of best-educated Indian.

[20] It is my understanding that he had been admitted to practice in the State of Oregon, which, under the law at the time, entitled him to practice in Alaska also.

many of the typical aggressive mannerisms of the trial lawyer, which are by no means congenial to traditionalist Tlingit. Also, Paul devoted himself to Brotherhood work on very nearly a full-time basis. He visited local chapters to help to build up membership, he handled Indian legal actions major and minor, he operated the official journal, the "Alaska Fisherman," he studied fields which he thought the Brotherhood might enter—labor relations, political action, various commercial enterprises such as canneries, logging operations, etc. (in connection with the Indian Reorganization Act). To be able to devote so much of his time to this work, he had to more or less monopolize the few salaried posts in the organization: the grand secretaryship, the editorship of the Alaska Fisherman, and the like. In other words, he made a career of the Brotherhood movement, just as many white men do who devote their efforts to causes they consider worthy—trade unionism, welfare, and the sponsoring of scientific research. However, this laid him open to accusations of self-interest by fellow Indians with whom he had fallen out, or who were jealous of his prestige.

After Mr. Paul's entry into the organization, and his early victories in its behalf, such as those related to citizenship status and the right of Indian children to attend Territorial schools (both of which will be discussed in detail), he was backed solidly by the founders of the Brotherhood both for his achievements and as an outstanding example of what an Indian could accomplish through education. However, in the 1920's, more and more young Tlingit and Haida were returning to Alaska after receiving educations not only in Indian schools, but at "stateside" colleges and universities. Some had served in the Armed Forces during World War I. These men, in many cases, came from important Indian families and had been imbued with native traditions and attitudes, and at the same time had become highly sophisticated in regard to white American culture. At first, they lined up behind Paul, but as he tended to subordinate their opinions and activities to his own, began to form a rival faction.

Frank Peratrovich was one of the first of the younger educated Tlingit to break with Paul. According to his own account, he was motivated primarily by differences of opinion on certain major issues, and secondarily—and this is where his traditionalistic attitudes entered the picture—he resented Mr. Paul's rather brusque manner of cutting off elderly Indians who took the floor to make lengthy speeches. As anyone who has observed Northwest Coast Indians at formal gatherings knows, the ancient patterns call for orations. These formal speeches are often gems of rhetoric, by Indian literary standards, but they take incredibly long to get to the point (and some of them never get there). Paul, because of his sense of the need

to make the most of convention time and the fact that he was unable to follow such speeches in Tlingit, had a way of peremptorily ruling such speakers out of order and gaveling them down. Finally, at a convention held at Haines, Peratrovich took the floor to deliver a resounding attack on Mr. Paul's methods. Initial reaction was not exactly what he had anticipated. As Mr. Peratrovich remarked, "For a time, I was about as popular in Indian circles as if I'd shown up with smallpox." But gradually more and more prominent Indians swung over to his side.

Mr. Paul's interpretation of the break stresses ill feeling carried over from ancient times because of feuds between Peratrovich's clan and his own, rather than difference of opinion and personality clash. It is my impression that this motivation is a secondary, not a primary one, though it does bring out the interesting fact that old inherited rancors still tend to be brought to light nowadays. However, it is ordinarily after people have fallen out that they revive these memories, using such taunts as: "We killed your great-grandfather and you were never able to avenge it," or "We took the name of your chief to use as a slave name," and the like. The interpretation is also interesting, as it indicates Mr. Paul's increased interest in Tlingit history and his growing appreciation of native attitude patterns.

As previously remarked, the opposition faction has gained strength in recent years. A certain stabilizing power appears to be held by a group who are not completely committed to either faction, but who vote and work with one or the other group as they think best. Some of these individuals are simply trying to carry water on both shoulders, others are independent thinkers who prefer to make up their own minds on issues, rather than voting the straight factional ticket.

EXTERNAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

A history of the Alaska Native Brotherhood would be inconsequential if it did not take into account the organization's external policies since its inception, its techniques for carrying them out, and the overall results. I use the somewhat awkward term "external policy" to characterize formalized attitudes and plans relating to matters beyond the organization's direct control—actually most policy of this type bears one way or another on the acculturational problem, and the contact (Indian-white) situation. Some aspects of other types of policy have already been referred to: such matters as the decision to found the publication the Alaska Fisherman, the constitution of the Executive Committee, the efforts to interest young people in the work of the Protherhood and Sisterhood, are all policy determinations on one or another level, and have in common the fact that all relate to internal affairs of the organization. It seems well worth-

while, therefore, to discuss external policy separately to develop the theme of the present study: the organization's effect on the acculturative process.

Before embarking on a discussion of external policy, it is necessary to point out that there are two phases, historically, of this topic. In the earlier phase, from the founding of the organization until 1918–20, a number of issues were defined as the Brotherhood's prime targets, and their resolution its principal goal. From 1918–20 on, new planks were brought into the A. N. B. platform. Some of the early-phase issues were retained, it is true, but they were redefined, and entirely new lines of attack on them were introduced. The cause of this new direction is no mystery at all. It was brought about by two individuals, William and Louis Paul, who as mentioned previously, became interested in the Brotherhood, associated themselves with it, and became extremely active in its work.

EARLY POLICIES

From the time of its founding until the transition point just mentioned, the Brotherhood's external policy was focused on three topics: (1) Recognition of the citizenship rights of the Indians of southeast Alaska; (2) education for the Indian; and (3) abolition of aboriginal customs, or at least of those popularly regarded by whites as "savage" and "uncivilized." All these three were considered to be inextricably interlocked as steps toward the Brotherhood's declared goal of "progress" (really, rapid and complete acculturation). Abandonment of ancient customs had already been defined by white authority as a prerequisite to achieving a "civilized way of life," without which the educational opportunities of the Indian would forever be restricted.[21] Both "becoming civilized" and getting an education were thus necessary to achieve recognition of the Indian's claim to citizenship, the major landmark on the road to complete cultural assimilation.

The reason that acquisition of full and equal citizenship was a legally complex problem had its origin on the one hand in Territorial history, and on the other in white American attitudes conditioned by dealings with stateside Indians. To begin with, Russian claims to southeast Alaska were based on "discovery," in the ethnocentric European usage of that term which quite overlooked the fact that the Indians had "discovered" the region long before. Despite their maintenance of garrison forces the Russians could not honestly claim the land by right of conquest. In one major passage at arms that occurred, that at Sitka in 1802, they had been soundly defeated.

[21] *Davis* v. *Sitka School Board*, 1908.

There is little doubt that, during the Russian occupation, while the Tlingit clans were numerous and strong, the Russians were allowed to remain only because the Indians found it convenient to let them operate trading centers. During their epoch of occupation, which was never anything but marginal in this part of Alaska, the Russians made no treaties or other legal agreements with the Indians whereby the status of the latter was defined. It is true that the "pagan, uncivilized tribes" were mentioned in Article 3 of the Russo-American Treaty for sale of Alaska, but, though Cohen belabors the point in his discussion of the legal status of Alaskan natives (Cohen, 1945, passim), this was no more than admission that such people existed, and did nothing to clarify their position. A clear-cut definition of their legal status perhaps could have been worked out, but never was.

After completion of the purchase of Alaska, the United States similarly failed to make any formal agreements with the natives, although to the south the drafting of Indian treaties had been routine since colonial times. Thus the Alaskan natives did not become "wards of the Government," in the same way in which Indian groups in the States did as the result of their treaties (in which they ceded certain land rights and agreed to live on "reservations" set aside for them in return for various grants and subsidies). In the absence of any such treaties or of legislation specifically restricting their status, the Tlingit and Haida before long came to consider themselves American citizens, with all rights and duties thereof. White Alaskans, however, used to dealing with Indians in the States who were "wards of the Government," refused to permit Alaskan natives to exercise their prerogatives. The Tlingit and Haida more and more emphatically asserted that they were not, and never had been, "wards," and cast about for ways to wipe that bar sinister from their shield.

In passing, it may be well to point out that Cohen's assertion that Alaskan natives were, and are, wards (Cohen, 1945, passim), must be regarded as Cohen's opinion, perhaps a correct one, legally speaking, but a matter which was subject to debate for many years. When Alaska was first purchased, the assumption was originally made that it was "Indian country," subject to the same regulation as areas so designated to the south. This of course put Alaskan natives in the same category as Indians in other United States areas. It was soon concluded that this opinion was incorrect, however. Therefore, Congress passed special legislation extending two provisions of the act of 1834 to Alaska, thereby prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages and firearms to Alaskan natives. Presumably Congress did so on the basis of its authority "to regulate commerce with the Indians." This legislation, however, did not of itself make native Alaskans "wards of the

Government." Indeed, the fact that special legislation was required to regulate liquor and arms traffic suggests that the status of Alaskan Indians (and Eskimos) was regarded from the outset as differing from that of stateside "treaty Indians." There was obviously considerable doubt on this point on the part of the very Government department for which Cohen compiled his monumental work on Indian legislation. For many years native education and administration in Alaska was delegated by the Department of the Interior to a subordinate agency, the Bureau of Education, not to the extant Bureau of Indian Affairs. It was not until 1931 that the Bureau of Indian Affairs took over administration of native affairs in Alaska, and even then a special branch, the Alaska Native Service, was set up to do so. By that time, the citizenship problem had been resolved, and no one regarded southeast Alaskans as "wards" to the extent of restricting their status as free and equal United States citizens.

Citizenship and its inherent rights was no idle academic question at the time the Brotherhood was founded. There were all sorts of immediate implications of the white attitude that Indians were not entitled to full rights as citizens. One of the results was that Indians, in early days, were not permitted to file mining claims. Several Tlingit, it is said, were brazenly crowded out by claim jumpers, or by white friends whom they had asked to file for them. It is no coincidence at all that the official colors of the Brotherhood are red and yellow, "red for the salmon, and yellow for the gold," and that the original lapel pins were miniature gold pans.

The precise methods through which the founders and their early associates hoped to achieve recognized citizenship with all its rights seem to have been somewhat vague. Of course the problem was difficult. The unenfranchised person of restricted status who wants full equality has few weapons and limited avenues of attack. Like the meek who would inherit the earth, there is little he can do about it save wait and hope for some potent external force to intercede for him. The early leaders of the Brotherhood seem to have believed that if the Indian comported himself enough like a white American, the white man would eventually become benevolent and give the Indian his long-awaited rights. So far as I could learn, there were no specific plans for achieving any of the early goals, other than the generalized, rather ineffectual ones of urging fellow members to send their children to school, and inveighing against the continuance of ancient custom. From the wide field of aboriginal culture they singled out two principal targets for their disapproval: the use of the native tongue and the potlatch. It appears that this selection was based to a considerable extent on missionary attitudes. Of course, command of English was necessary for dealing with the whites, and in a general

way correlated with the amount of formal schooling an individual had had. The stand against the potlatch, as will be brought out in more detail later on, seems to have been based to a great extent on missionary misconceptions as to what that institution was all about.

REVISED POLICIES

As has been stated, in about the years 1918–20 the external policies of the Alaska Native Brotherhood underwent a sharp revision. Most informants agree that not only did these changes coincide with the active entry of William and Louis Paul into the organization but that the new concepts were directly inspired by the Paul brothers themselves. William Paul, Sr., told me that it was his brother Louis (the first of the two to affiliate himself with the A. N. B.) who defined the educational issue in precise terms. Instead of the original vague and generalized stand in favor of "a good education for Indian children," Louis convinced the organization that it should take a specific stand against the "two-school system," in which the Indian children in white communities such as Juneau, Sitka, and Wrangell were made to attend separate schools operated by the Bureau of Education while white children attended Territorial schools. This latter stand involved simultaneously the discrimination issue, and, so it was claimed, the quality of the education. Citizenship remained an issue, but it was tied in by the Pauls with a new concept, that of forming the Brotherhood into an active political bloc as a means of influencing legislation favorable to the Indians. William Paul, with his legal training, also brought a new mode of approach to problems: attack through legal processes. Another new policy, one that was highly popular and thus at once aroused interest among Indians who previously had taken little notice of the A. N. B., and also won the sympathy of many white Alaskans, was the forthright stand taken against the use of fish traps in commercial fisheries. The salmon fishing in 1920 was poor in southeast Alaska. Although cannery owners insisted that they could not operate at a profit without these devices, many fishermen both Indian and white attributed the poor runs to the traps, on the grounds that the devices did not permit adequate escapement to the spawning grounds.

CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship and its attendant rights and duties was an area of Brotherhood interest from the earliest days of the organization. It was by its very nature a problem that offered few angles of approach to the people concerned, and the Indians had no white friends to take up the cudgels for them. The Indians themselves argued that since

they had never assumed the status of wards of the Government through treaty, and did not reside on reservations, they were free and equal citizens of the United States. The plain truth is that this argument was fallacious; the third article of the Treaty of Cession did provide that "civilized" inhabitants—creoles, and Christianized Eskimo and Aleut, who were all regarded as Russian subjects—should, if they remained in Alaska for 3 years after cession, become United States citizens,[22] but although a few individuals might have qualified, the most of the Tlingit and Haida were plainly regarded as "uncivilized tribes" for whom no provision was made as to citizenship. Later on, provisions were made by which an Indian could become a citizen. It was held that the General Allotment Act of 1887 applied to Alaska, so that citizenship was possible for persons who "severed tribal relationship and adopted the habits of civilization." A Territorial Act of 1915 provided a procedure through which a native, by proving his qualifications as a voter, and demonstrating his abandonment of tribal customs and his complete adoption of a civilized way of life, could obtain a certificate of citizenship.[23] It appears that very few Tlingit took advantage of this method, however. Eventually, of course, the Citizenship Act of June 2, 1924, included Alaskan natives and resolved the problem.

William Paul regards an episode that took place in 1922 as of major significance in forcing popular acceptance of the right he felt the Indian should have. This was a test case of an individual Indian's right to vote. As a matter of fact the case did not really affect the legal status of natives, but it was accepted as doing so in the popular mind, both white and Indian. Prior to this time, Indians were generally barred from the polls in southeast Alaska. Some, however, had voted regularly in primary and Territorial elections since the effective date of the act creating the Territorial Legislature. It is not clear just what the bases of this discrimination between individual Indians were; presumably they reflected especially friendly relationships between certain Indians and the election officers. During the 1922 primaries, Charlie Jones, an elderly Indian who was the seventh incumbent of the "Chief Shakes" title at Wrangell, appeared at the polls to cast his ballot. Jones was a person who was highly respected by the Indians because of his high status in the native system of rank. He seems to have been quite conservative in some respects, progressive in others. Jones had apparently voted in previous elections, but on this occasion he was challenged by the official at the voting place and not permitted to vote. Perplexed by this

[22] See: *In re Minook*, 2 Alaska 200 (1904).
[23] Ch. 24, Laws of Alaska, 1915, p. 52.

unexpected turn of events Jones went in search of an educated Stikine woman, Mrs. Tamaree (the mother of the Paul brothers), to request her assistance, assuming that he had misunderstood because of his rather limited command of English. Mrs. Tamaree returned to the polls with him and insisted that he be given a ballot and allowed to cast it. When he did so he was arrested on a charge of voting "at a time when and a place where he was not eligible to vote," a felony, and Mrs. Tamaree was also arrested (and released immediately on her own recognizance) for aiding and abetting the commission of a felony. William Paul immediately came to the aid of the two defendants. The case seemed made to order to test the long-standing demands of the Alaska Native Brotherhood for citizenship rights and the franchise for Indians in Alaska. Naturally, as well, Paul was forced to take action to assist his mother. There is some indication also that the issue was forced to a certain extent by the opposing side, the anti-Indian white forces at Wrangell. For their purposes—if it is true that there was a deliberate effort to prevent Indians from voting once and for all—the Charlie Jones case seemed a good one, for Jones was an elderly Indian who adhered to Indian customs in many respects, was illiterate, and had a very limited command of English. As Mr. Paul recalls, the development of the case did not in final analysis revolve about any fine technical points of law but was resolved principally on the basis of testimony concerning Jones' actions as a member of the community of Wrangell. He himself testified that he had always been a law-abiding person, had paid taxes dutifully even though Indians were not required to pay taxes at that time, and had participated to the greatest possible extent in all matters relating to the public welfare. For example, during the war years he had purchased war bonds for himself and all members of his family, and always subscribed generously to Red Cross drives and to similar worthy causes. He had voted in previous elections, being permitted to do so by election officials who knew him well (knew he was an Indian), because he understood that voting was the duty of a good citizen. He was found not guilty of the charge of illegal voting, and the right of Indians to vote in Alaska was accepted. Thus, according to this story, which incidentally was referred to as fact by all the informants on A. N. B. history and policy, before Federal legislation was passed that gave the franchise to Indians (1924), the issue no longer existed in Alaska.

The participation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in this case was primarily through the activity of Paul himself. The case was, of course, directly in line with the avowed campaign of the Brotherhood for citizenship rights for Indians. Various members of the Brotherhood made themselves available as witnesses for the defense,

and in addition the Brotherhood provided funds to finance the trial. This victory set the stage for the development of the Brotherhood as a political force. Once the right of Alaskan natives to vote was firmly established they were in a position to make their influence felt in any public matter. Another effect of this case was to establish William Paul in the public mind as a champion of Indian rights and to assure his influence in the Brotherhood.

POLITICAL ACTION

Once the Indian's right to vote was assured, the stage was set for the development of Mr. Paul's theories as to the potential value to the Indian of political activity. Obviously, even in the 1920's and 1930's, the Indians in the First Judicial District (southeast Alaska) were a minority group, but the white population was not so large but that a solid block of two thousand or so Indian votes, if they could be organized, could be a potent factor, even to the point of tipping the scales in favor of one or the other of the two major parties. The proof positive of this was demonstrated in 1926, when William Paul himself, running as a Republican in nominally Democratic Alaska, was elected to the Territorial Legislature. Paul did not, of course, depend entirely on the Indian vote. He had important support from the party organization. But the Indian backing, organized through the Brotherhood, and through the A. N. B. official journal, the Alaska Fisherman, was probably a crucial factor.

It has been remarked that, almost from its founding, the Alaska Fisherman stressed politics and political issues. In addition, a political committee was created as a subcommittee of the Brotherhood Executive Committee. This body has as its principal function consideration of the various candidates, and recommends to the membership those considered to be favorable to legislation desired by the A. N. B. Most Indians in southeast Alaska, like most of their white Alaskan friends, tend to vote the Democratic ticket, but A. N. B. political policy stresses voting for the candidate, not the party. The Political Committee does not hesitate to recommend crossing party lines.

In recent years, owing in great part to the emphasis on political action, a number of Indians have represented the First Judicial District in the Territorial Legislature, both in the House and the Senate. In 1950, three Tlingit were elected or reelected to the House, and one had been elected to the Territorial Senate, in 1948, which is good representation (there are four Senators from each of the four Judicial Districts, and on the basis of populational representation, 6 members of the House, out of a total of 24, from the First District). It is worth

adding that all these men, who are well-educated, sophisticated individuals, served creditably.

During the peak of the Brotherhood's political influence, the organization was able to obtain some legislation that it wanted, such as the Antidiscrimination Act of 1946. Consideration indicates however that this influence is on the wane. Not only is the white population increasing rapidly through immigration from the States, so that the Indian vote is shrinking percentagewise, but the factional split within the the A. N. B. has affected its political solidarity. For example, in the fall of 1952, the Political Committee, whether through inability to agree or through sloth, failed to recommend a slate of candidates. William Paul, shortly before the elections, came out publicly in opposition to the Indian candidates (Peratrovich for Senator, and Representative candidates, Hope, Johnson, and Nelson), all of whom were alined against him in the A. N. B.[24] All the Indian candidates except Mr. Johnson, who ran as a Republican, were defeated. Many Indians attributed their defeat to Paul's actions, an interpretation which widened the schism, although actually the Republican sweep (all offices except that of Delegate) was more probably an expression of the pro-Republican sentiment of voters throughout the Nation that year. Actually, according to the unofficial but nearly complete election returns published by the Daily Alaska Empire, the Indian villages stood almost solidly behind the Indian candidates.[25] The split consequently probably did more harm to the organization's solidarity than it did to those candidates, in the long run.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS

As already stated, the Brotherhood, at Louis Paul's urging, had altered its stand from the original vague and generalized one

[24] The A. N. B. Grand President and the Grand President of the Sisterhood recommended almost at the last minute a slate of candidates which included all the Indian candidates. This move was not only ineffectual, but was extra-legal, since no quorum of the Executive Committee approved the action, or so I was informed.

[25] See the following table:

	Total votes cast	For Senator: Peratrovich	For Representatives		
			Hope (D)	Johnson (R)	Nelson (D)
Hydaburg	65	56	61	65	56
Klawock	81	68	76	61	64
Yakutat	54	45	46	37	42
Hoonah	102	78	83	83	61
Angoon	75	65	70	73	54
Kake	112	97	101	110	55
Metlakatla	122	120	121	61	93
Total	611	539	558	490	425

Figures in tabulation show only 3 of the 6 candidates for Representative (6 were to be selected out of 12). The small Indian vote cast is probably due to the A. N. B. schism. In communities like Juneau, Sitka, Ketchikan, etc., it is impossible to isolate the Indian vote. (Daily Alaska Empire, Oct. 17, 1952.)

of "good education for Indian children" to a specific position against the exclusion of Indian children from Territorial public schools. While the Bureau of Education maintained schools in the purely Indian villages and near all of the white towns of which there were sizable Indian populations, it was often difficult or inconvenient for families resident in white towns to send their children to Indian schools. In addition, there was a strong feeling, whether justified or not, that the instruction in the Indian schools was not up to the standards of the Territorial public school education. Some informants also state that they felt it important, since their children would have to grow up and compete in a white man's world, that they be given the opportunity to compete on equal grounds with the whites in the public schools. As in the case of the Indians' right to vote, there was considerable variation in practice regarding exclusion of Indian children. Some children were permitted to attend public schools and others were not. At an early date a test case was brought in Sitka to try to force the acceptance of certain mixblood children in Sitka Public School.[26] This case was lost on the grounds that the children's parents "did not lead a civilized type of life." The children's stepfather was, it is said, urged to appeal the case but he did not do so, partly because of the expense and partly because he was afraid of making enemies among the whites among whom he lived and for whom he worked. In the course of events several similar incidents occurred in which Indian children or part-Indian children were barred from attending public schools, but either the parents were unwilling to force the issue for one reason or another or there were some factors involved which made the cases undesirable as test cases. Finally, in 1929, two Indian girls who had been attending the public school at Ketchikan were told that they could no longer continue there but must enroll in the Indian school at nearby Saxman. The children are said to have been good students with good records and were of a sophisticated, highly acculturated family. According to one account related to me, the expulsion of the children from the public school was actually less a direct attempt at discrimination than a sort of "deal" between the public school officials and those of the Indian school. According to this version, the Indian school lacked only a few pupils to qualify for an additional teacher on its staff, since the number of teachers permitted was based on some fixed pupil-teacher ratio. The officials therefore requested the officials of the Ketchikan Public School to send as many Indian pupils as possible to them. Some of these Indian children had never attended an Indian school. The public school people, as a favor to their col-

[26] *Davis* v. *Sitka School Board*, 3 Alaska 481 (1908).

leagues, cooperated by barring a number of Indian children from further attendance. When the father of two of the youngsters went before the school board and indicated his intention of making an issue of the matter, the school authorities claimed that the action had been taken because of crowded conditions and shortage of space in the school. William Paul was called in, or volunteered his services, as attorney for the father of the children, bringing suit against the school board.[27] Finally the right of the children to attend the school of their choice was established, the judge ordering that the school accept them, and, it is said, stating in his opinion that if a shortage of space did in fact exist in the school, it was the duty of the school board to provide more space. From that time on, Indian children have attended public schools throughout southeast Alaska. In recent years provision has been made whereby the Territory is compensated by the Federal Government for providing schooling for children.

It has already been remarked that even at an early date many Indians claimed to be dissatisfied with the instruction in the schools established for them by the Bureau of Education, and later operated by the Alaska Native Service. It is difficult to appraise the extent to which this attitude had any real basis and that to which it was simply a way of expressing the Indians' protest at what they felt to be discrimination in their exclusion from white schools. Certainly many of the teachers in the Indian schools were both well qualified and sympathetic with the Indians. In any event, even after the right of Indian children to attend public schools was firmly established through the test case just described, the Indians' attitude continued. It was in part reinforced by the avowed policy of the Alaska Native Service to "work itself out of a job," in other words to reduce its services as the natives progress in acculturation to a point where a special administration is no longer needed. In recent years village after village in southeast Alaska has incorporated itself either as a school district or as a city under Territorial law, and has taken over the operation of its own school. By either of these two methods the village school becomes affiliated with the Territorial system of education. The various properties, including school buildings and teachers' quarters, are transferred to Territorial or community ownership by the Alaska Native Service and the Territory contributes a substantial amount of funds for the operation of the school. This contribution amounts to 85 percent of the school's total budget for operation and teachers' salaries. The local com-

[27] *Jones* v. *Ellis*, 8 Alaska 146 (1929).

munity must provide only 15 percent of the budget. In addition, the schools are entitled to receive allotments from the Territorial tobacco tax which is earmarked for school construction and maintenance. The tobacco tax contribution is a sizable one which may run to several thousand dollars a year even in the case of a school in a rather small community. By the fall of 1952 all but two of the schools in the Indian villages in southeast Alaska, Hydaburg and Angoon, had been taken over by the communities and affiliated with the Territorial system. The expressed policy of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in this matter favors the taking over of the schools but recommended from the beginning that it be done gradually as the villages are able to handle the burden.

RESERVATIONS

The subject of reservations has been a source of bitter contention. There was a feeling on the part of many people that since the Indians had never been on reservations it would be degrading and a step backward for reservations to be established. Most people say that this sentiment grew up in the early years of this century when a considerable number of youths were sent to Indian schools in the States, particularly to Chemawa in Oregon and to Carlisle. It is certain that they met young Indians from reservations in the States and occasionally were able to visit their new friends' homes and were very unfavorably impressed by what they considered to be the segregation and discrimination of reservation life. In point of fact, although this may have been one of the sources of influence shaping this attitude, it seems probable that another very important source of antireservation sentiment was the philosophy of a director of Carlisle Institute, Gen. R. H. Pratt, USA (Ret.). General Pratt, whose influence on his students seems to have been very great, was very strongly against reservations as a technique of solving the Indian problem. He apparently believed that Indians should be disseminated among the white population as rapidly as possible and encouraged to lose their tribal and racial identity until they eventually merged with and disappeared into the American population. This pattern of thinking undoubtedly influenced many Tlingit leaders, a number of whom had attended Carlisle.

Of course there was little question of likelihood of reservations being created in southeast Alaska for many years. No such institutions had been created by the Russians nor were they set up by the United States in the early days following the purchase of the Territory. The only reservation in southeast Alaska was that on Annette Island created under very special circumstances for Father

Duncan's Tsimshian congregation.[28] Reservations really became an issue in southeast Alaska and within the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1934 in connection with the Indian Reorganization Act (sometimes known as the Wheeler-Howard Act). This measure had been written primarily for the benefit of Indians in the States, most of whom reside or had resided on reservations. It did not fit the Alaskan situation; in fact, a special supplementary measure had to be passed to make it applicable to Alaska, that is to say, to make its beneficiary provisions available to Alaskan Indians. In the original form of the bill it appeared from the language that Alaskan Indians would have to request that reservations be established for them in order to take advantage of the various provisions of the measure. This caused a good deal of controversy and immediate rejection of the whole reorganization program by the Indians of southeast Alaska. Even after the act was made applicable to the Territory in 1936 (by Public Law No. 538, 74th Cong.), misunderstanding and suspicion of the I. R. A. persisted, and probably delayed the acceptance of the measure. It also brought up the whole question of reservations as a live and controversial issue.

A considerable number of people, particularly the leaders in the Alaska Native Brotherhood and many of the younger men, feel that establishment of reservations would be degrading. They consider that living on a reservation would be in effect turning the clock back and would be a form of segregation. They are proud of their status as full and equal citizens and feel themselves able to compete with whites on equal terms. Many of them also believe, rightly or wrongly, that the creation of reservations, and their residence on reservations, would result in actual loss of their rights of citizenship and other privileges for which they have fought. Whether this is actually true is something of a question. It seems rather doubtful that the prerogatives of citizenship, once awarded and exercised, could be revoked by the setting aside of tracts of land. Nonetheless, many Indians believe that somehow or other they would lose their rights.

There are, however, two groups who take a different view on the reservation question. One of these includes a fair proportion of the elderly, less sophisticated members of the communities who have become persuaded that life on a reservation would carry with it more security, with Government-provided medical and welfare care. These people essentially are those who cannot or no longer wish to compete with the white man. The other pro-reservation group consists of people who see the establishment of reservations as the safest

[28] There were small plots set off as "reservations" in the villages, on which the Government schools, teacherages, etc., were built, but these were simply places to put the buildings and do not figure in the attitude toward reservations.

and surest way of retaining control of any sizable area of land. They have seen the example of Metlakatla whose people on their reservation have for years controlled their land to a point of being able to refuse outsiders permission to come ashore on the island, and in addition have been able to control access to the surrounding waters and fishing grounds. This to many Tlingit and Haida, who even today do not hold deeds to the lands their own homes are set on, seems like a highly attractive situation. Various influential white friends and advisers of the Indians have similarly been divided in their stand on the reservation question and have argued with equal vehemence for both views.

The reservation question created considerable discussion at a series of annual conventions of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Opinion was for a time about equally divided for and against, and most people concerned felt that the Brotherhood as a whole should take a formal stand one way or the other on the question. However, there seemed no possible compromise. It looked for a time, about 1945–46, as though the reservation issue might fatally split the organization. One point that has been very much in the consciousness of the leaders of the organization despite their past and present disagreements is that the strength of the Brotherhood lies in its solidarity, so they decided that they would rather slight the reservation issue than risk a schism. The most effective compromise that they were able to work out, they passed at the 1946 convention in the form of a resolution which provided in effect for a sort of local option on the question, with Brotherhood approval. That is to say, any community that wished to have a reservation created for it might do so and the Brotherhood would support that community in its request and provide all possible assistance. On the other hand, if a community did not want a reservation it might refuse the establishment of one and the Brotherhood as a whole was pledged to help such a community to resist the (unlikely) attempts to force a reservation upon it.

THE LAND PROBLEM

Attention seems to have been first directed to the land problem through an attack by modern means, including demands for compensation made through the courts, in the late 1920's. On one occasion Judge Wickersham, then Delegate from Alaska to Congress and longtime friend of the Indians of Alaska, attended an annual convention of the Brotherhood to discuss a measure he proposed to offer to Congress that would authorize the Indians to file suit against the United States Government for compensation for lands which had been "taken from them." Under the provisions of the measure proposed by Wick-

ersham any compensation received would be paid the Indians, divided up on a per capita basis in three lump-sum payments. This resolution died a-borning on Capitol Hill.

An act known as the Tlingit and Haida Jurisdictional Act, of June 15, 1935, gave these Indians the right to bring suit for claims against the United States in the United States Court of Claims. This piece of legislation had been introduced by Delegate Dimond, and was one of a series of such bills which Delegates from Alaska had brought before Congress since Wickersham's initial effort. To my knowledge, the Alaska Native Brotherhood had little or nothing to do with proposing this bill. Dimond apparently made the move on the basis of his knowledge of the situation, and his opinion that passage might provide a first step toward clarifying the whole confused picture of land and land rights in the Territory. The Tlingit pooled claims, which amounted to $35,000,000 "for the value of the land, hunting, and fishing rights taken without compensation," were presented in a suit which was dismissed by the Court of Claims on the ground that the attorney whom the Tlingit had chosen could not legally represent them, since he had not been approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Suit under this act is still possible, for although the time for filing was limited, and expired, it has been extended a number of times by Congress.

In 1946 authority was again given the Indians to file suit in connection with their land claims, under a somewhat different procedure. This legislation was not introduced as a result of the efforts of the Indians of southeast Alaska directly but was initiated in Congress for the benefit of all Indians in the United States and Alaska. The Office of Indian Affairs established certain procedures in connection with these Indian suits. Among other things they prepared a standard form contract for the Indians to complete with the attorneys who are to represent them. It appears that the way in which the land claims would be handled was brought before several conventions of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and there was found to be sharp disagreement over several issues. Finally at a convention held at Haines, a temporary committee was designated to take the problem up outside of the Brotherhood. Meanwhile the Office of Indian Affairs became impatient because the Brotherhood, which had taken over the subject of land claims, was accomplishing nothing. The Alaska Native Service arranged to hold in Wrangell a special meeting of delegates who were to be elected by each community. The group that met in Wrangell had no official connection with the Brotherhood. It did, however, as might be expected, include most of the leaders of that organization, and the Brotherhood Executive Committee

appears to have been very strongly represented. It was resolved to create a special organization which would maintain its separateness from the Brotherhood. It was also decided that the claims should be pooled and presented in the name of the organization of delegates attending the Wrangell meeting, who designated themselves the Tlingit-Haida Land Claims Association. (It is my understanding that Yakutat remained aloof from this association.) The source of this suggestion for pooling the claims is not known to me.

There was originally general agreement, or so it appears, on the method of handling the joint suit of the Tlingit-Haida Association, although subsequently some different ideas have appeared. Klawock and Kake dropped out of the association because of the large areas being proposed as reservations to be established by the Secretary of the Interior. More recently claims of certain Stikine clans, and those of a certain group from Angoon, have been filed separately.

The reservation question previously discussed entered into the discussions about the land claims, and was the cause of disagreements which led to the withdrawal of certain communities and also evidently led to the subject being barred from the floor at A. N. B. conventions. (This provision does seem to protect the A. N. B. from the danger of a factional split even though in the 1952 convention the method of discussing the land claims was to adjourn the convention temporarily, then call the same delegations to order as delegates to the Tlingit-Haida Land Claims Association.) The point seems to have been that some communities wanted to retain title to and possession of the lands they now use by requesting those lands to be set aside as reservations. According to this way of thinking only those lands, use of which had definitely been given up, would be included in the suit or suits claiming compensation. As discussed elsewhere, the reservation issue is a burning one among these people. Many still feel that only by divorcing the old land problem from the Native Brotherhood, at least nominally, was a factional split in the Brotherhood prevented.

Although a signatory committee was appointed at the Wrangell meeting and officially authorized to sign attorney contracts for the association, some time elapsed before the contract was finally signed. To date (1953) little progress has been in the settlement of these claims primarily because of the lack of agreement on the part of the Indians, and because of the development of a faction which is strongly opposed to the attorney with whom the contract was finally signed. The principal developments so far have been the relinquishment in 1949 of Hydaburg's overall claims in return for the establishment of a reservation comprised of something over 100,000 acres of land

in the vicinity of Hydaburg, created out of a portion of Tongass National Forest. (The reservation incidentally included the water surrounding the land areas.) In 1951 the Government, on behalf of the Indians of Hydaburg, brought suit against a packing company to enjoin it from operating fish traps which it had within those waters. In the fall of 1952 after the case had been heard a decision was handed down to the effect that the Hydaburg Reservation had not been legally created and therefore an injunction could not be brought against the defendant, preventing him from operating the traps. This of course left the status of the Haida claims, including those which they relinquished in the return for the reservation, entirely up in the air.

Another change in the picture has been introduced within recent times by the filing of suits for compensation in the names of the individual clans rather than by pooling the several claims of the members of the modern communities. This procedure appears to have a certain logic particularly in view of the fact that the claims are based upon aboriginal rights of ownership and it was, of course, the local clan which in aboriginal times was the owner of land rights. However, this idea, which will lend itself more readily toward distribution of any monetary compensation received on a per capita basis among surviving members of the clan, is violently opposed by many members of the Tlingit-Haida Land Claims Association who want to use any compensation received to establish funds for community use, following the pattern established at Metlakatla.

The whole matter of the land claims in southeast Alaska is at the present time a major issue which until it is settled one way or the other can be expected to retard development of the region's resources, particularly timber resources. For that reason it would not be proper to go into it at any greater length here except to bring out the fact that the Alaska Native Brotherhood has played a very peculiar role in connection with the Indians' claims. After taking the initiative but not accomplishing very much in the beginning, it officially divorced itself from all connection with the land problem in order to avoid the danger of an open thoroughgoing split in the organization. Nonetheless, this was essentially a subterfuge because the personnel of the so-called Tlingit-Haida Land Claims Association includes most of the leaders in the Brotherhood. Also, some informants allege that Brotherhood channels were utilized to raise funds to cover certain expenses of the Land Claims Association although just what these expenses were and just what funds were actually raised, if any, is not known to me.

LABOR RELATIONS

As is quite apparent from the early issues of the Alaska Fisherman, the A. N. B. has been sympathetic to the cause of organized labor. Indians as individuals affiliated themselves with various fishermen's and other unions. There have been a great number of fishermen's unions in southeast Alaska; I am not able to trace their complex histories in detail. The general pattern seems to be that of numerous independent or variously affiliated locals, which competed bitterly with each other, and in time merged into larger organizations which broke up, before long, into separatist locals again. At one point, however, the A. N. B. entered the labor-relations field, and for a few years it was a major unifying force, until the basic pattern repeated itself. About 1939 at the annual convention a resolution was passed whereby the Alaska Native Brotherhood could act as the bargaining agency, in accordance with the provisions of the Wagner Act, for fishermen and cannery workers. The fishermen's and cannery workers' union which was to be represented by the Brotherhood had a succession of names in the course of its relatively short history. After a short time it merged with an American Federation of Labor organization to become the Alaska Marine Workers' Union. However, the Alaska Native Brotherhood retained its key function as bargaining agency. The Grand Camp of the A. N. B. was the advisory body. William Paul was the advisory agent and appears to have been the primary mover in developing the whole arrangement. He also became secretary of the Alaska Marine Workers' Union. The way the organization operated is this: The Executive Committee of the A. N. B. determined each year the pay scales and the prices for raw fish that should be arranged with the canneries. Each local camp of the A. N. B. representing the local branch of the union negotiated with the cannery or canneries for which its people worked and fished. In effect, the first agreement worked out each year set the level for all agreements on wages and working conditions.

Putting the Alaska Native Brotherhood in the labor business in this way required certain formal changes in both structure and policy. In the first place, the bargaining agency could not be an organization in which membership was restricted on such grounds as race. That is to say, membership could not be limited to Indians or even natives of Alaska. A revision in the constitution had to be made which would permit non-Indians to become members. A provision was therefore made that distinguished between full membership (for which natives only were eligible), and "associate members" who were not natives but who had "the privileges of a full member in the collective bargaining agency." The dues of these non-Indian mem-

bers were the same as those of full members, and they were in addition liable for the union dues. The Alaska Marine Workers' Union which included or was affiliated with the Alaska Fisherman's Cooperative Organization (set up separately on the grounds that a fisherman is not an employee but an independent contractor) was for some time an important organization in southeast Alaska.

There had been, apparently prior to the creation of the Alaska Marine Workers' Union, a union known as the Alaska Purse Seiners and Cannery Workers. This organization functioned for a number of years primarily in the Ketchikan and west coast of Prince of Wales areas. It had no direct affiliation with the Alaska Native Brotherhood nor was it organized on racial lines in any way, but included both Indian and white fishermen and cannery workers, and probably oriental cannery workers as well (although I am not certain of this last point). Its membership, at any rate, included a large number of Indians. Frank Peratrovich of Klawock was very active in this organization. It is possible that the success of the Alaska Purse Seiners' and Cannery Workers' Union provided a model on which Paul organized the other group. The Purse Seiners' and Cannery Workers' Union was affiliated with the CIO. About 1943 or 1944 the CIO challenged the right of the Alaska Native Brotherhood to act as bargaining agency for the other labor union. The case was reviewed by the National Labor Relations Board and, because of the changes in the Brotherhood's constitution which permitted a nonrestricted membership, its right to act in labor matters was approved. Later on the CIO pressed for a vote as to affiliation, and after the various locals of both the Alaska Purse Seiners' and Cannery Workers' and the Alaska Marine Workers' voted on the issue a number of times, incidentally switching back and forth considerably, a strong majority was finally established in favor of CIO affiliation, and amalgamation of the Alaska Marine Workers' Union with the Purse Seiners' and Cannery Workers' group was carried out. The latter group was large enough to hold the balance of power in the new amalgamated organization and its officers were promptly elected to head the new amalgamated union. These people included a number of Paul's principal opponents in the Brotherhood as well as outsiders, and they took control from him and formal office as well. The following year at the annual convention of the Brotherhood which was held at Hydaburg it was resolved that the Brotherhood would cease to act as a bargaining agency. It appears that both the principal factions involved were in accord on this measure: the Paul group because they had lost control of the Union and the other faction because they had never felt that labor relations was a field in which the Brotherhood should function actively as an organization. The Brotherhood's constitution has not

been changed since that time, so the provision for non-Indian associate members remains in its articles but is, of course, meaningless at present.

ABORIGINAL CUSTOMS

At the outset, largely because of its derivation from mission-influenced sources, the A. N. B. took a formal stand against everything that was regarded as significant and typical of the aboriginal culture. Even use of the Tlingit language was deplored. The first edition of the Brotherhood Constitution specifies that "English-speaking members of the native residents of the Territory of Alaska" are eligible to membership. Of the various features of native life that were particularly disapproved, the potlatch heads the list. There are various reasons for this emphasis against potlatching. Most of the missionaries of the early days felt very strongly against potlatch because they considered that not only was the distribution of money and valuables uneconomic and inconsistent with the white virtues of thrift, etc., but that the songs, dances, and feasts that invariably accompany a performance were "pagan" and thus inconsistent with Christianity. Tlingit potlatches, at least the major ones which were celebrated by the heir to a chief's position to formalize his assumption of that status and to repay the members of the opposite moiety, his father's side, for their services in the funerary rites of the new chief's predecessor, the carving and erection of the memorial pole, and the rebuilding of the clan house, had a strong emphasis on the honoring of the dead chief, and other clan ancestors. In a sense they were memorial rites as well as rites of public assumption of rank and status. The Indians themselves emphasize the commemorative aspects of the performances. It was therefore a very simple matter for the missionaries and some missionized Indians to interpret the institution of the potlatch not as a ritual of social significance, but one of religious significance, and one consequently to be opposed by all good Christians, by maintaining that the potlatch was a sort of "ancestor worship." The symbolic act performed at various times in the course of the potlatch of putting tobacco and food in the fire for the benefit of the souls of the deceased chief and other departed clansmen was emphasized out of all proportion to substantiate the "ancestor worship" interpretation and the stand against the institution.

As it has been indicated, the potlatch in all fairness should be regarded as a ritual of social rather than religious nature. The commemorative acts, the references to the dead and the various acts performed for their direct benefit, can only be interpreted as "ancestor worship" by exaggerating their importance considerably. Probably a potlatch was selected as a target by the early missionaries

because of its spectacular nature and obvious association with ancient days and ancient traditions. It was probably simpler to regard this institution as the epitome of paganism and to campaign against it than it was to define and attack the less spectacular, highly personal and unpublicized body of religious beliefs of the aboriginal days. The true corpus of ancient religion revolved about an individual's relationship with his guardian spirit whom he had encountered after a long, arduous, and secret period of prayer and self-imposed hardship. However, many Indians today accept with little question the missionary interpretation of the potlatch as a pagan religious performance and are strongly in favor of the official A. N. B. stand against it.

Another reason that is commonly given in justification of opposing the potlatch is one that is economically motivated. Some informants maintain that in order to carry out their duties of potlatching to take the place of their maternal uncles and to honor the older clan ancestors, men gave away quantities of money that they should have used to feed and clothe themselves and their families. One of the standard justifications for opposition to the potlatch is that children frequently suffered neglect and even privation all winter because their parents felt obligated to use all their earnings of the year and all the money that they could beg and borrow from relatives to put on one of these spectacular performances. It is very difficult to appraise the factual bases of this generalization. Almost the only specific case I was able to collect referred to a man, currently in early middle age, who as a boy had completed the course of education available to him in the local elementary school, and who was eager to continue his education. He wanted to go to high school in Juneau. According to the account given me, at the last moment his parents told him he could not go because his father had to use every cent that he could scrape up to give a major potlatch to honor a departed relative and chief. My informant claimed that "they said the dead were more important than the living." Whether this was the real cause, or simply a rationalization by conservative parents of their opposition to their young son's leaving home, I could not determine. Nonetheless, this conceptualization of potlatching as conflicting to an antisocial degree with Western ideals of the virtues of thrift provides another overt reason for opposing the potlatch.

A. N. B. policy and practice have never been consistent on this issue. Although officially the system of fines used by lodges and other organizations is used at the annual convention for fund raising, from earliest days customs related to the potlatch have been drawn on. For example, such purely aboriginal procedures as that of addressing members of the opposite moiety in a certain formal fashion or calling on them to do something in behalf of their clan children (i. e., the

children of the men of a clan) by speech or song are invoked to create situations in which, by ancient standards, the persons addressed must make gifts. The gifts now of course take the form of donations to the Brotherhood treasury. Other ancient patterns, as well, are utilized as means of contributing to the worthy A. N. B. cause. One such device consists in the donation, by the kinsmen of a deceased person, of a substantial sum to the organization. This is done in many cases in which the deceased had been an active member of the Brotherhood. Such performances are obviously the essence of the potlatch, that is, the potlatch stripped of its ritual, and with the A. N. B. replacing clans of the opposite moiety as recipient. The point seems to be that many of the people concerned do not perceive the functional parallelism, and therefore do not equate the ancient with the new. For example, one informant related that a member of the Brotherhood had been influential in having the Klawock camp invite the convention of 1949 and in fact had himself issued the invitation. Unfortunately, he died shortly before the convention was held. His funeral was carried out by the members of his local camp acting as such, and not by clan relatives. At the convention a relative of the deceased arranged for permission to take the floor. He said, "My uncle invited you delegates to have your convention here at Klawock. Unhappily he passed away before you arrived but we, his relatives, want to carry out his intentions for we know that when he invited you here he intended to do something for you. [That is to say, he intended to give a dinner to the delegates, or a sizable donation to the organization.] Therefore, we want to do what my uncle wished to have carried out. We want to give these pennies to the Grand Camp." So the person who spoke in the name of himself and his clansmen gave $700 to the treasury. The whole performance was obviously lifted right out of the potlatch pattern. However, most of the people present including the informant who felt very strongly against the potlatch, regarding it as one of the major evils of Tlingit culture, considered the act a very fine thing. As a matter of fact, the informant stated she was giving serious thought to doing something similar herself when a certain aged cousin of hers dies.

During the 1952 convention at Hoonah, after most of the business had been taken care of, the three daughters of John Fawcett, a recently deceased Hoonah man who had been an important figure in civic affairs and in the local camp of the A. N. B. for many years, and who also had been director of the town band, were introduced to the convention by Harry Douglas, mayor of Hoonah, and then by Jimmy Young, the elderly chief of the Teukanedi clan, to which Fawcett had belonged. Following the speech by Mr. Young

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in Tlingit that was said to have been approximately the same as that given by Douglas, which was a eulogy of the deceased and a recital of his good works and contributions to the civic life of Hoonah, Young announced that he and his relatives would "pay a fine for taking up the time of the convention," that is, for having spoken at such length in honor of their deceased clanmate. Members of the clan came forward, each contributing a sum of money. Altogether they made up a donation of $120.

A similar contribution was made on the final evening of the convention by a Hoonah woman, a widow, and a kinsman of her husband. She addressed the convention speaking in honor of the deceased, who had been prominent for many years in A. N. B. affairs. On closing, she gave a substantial sum of money to the organization. I was unable to learn the source of the funds, and just how it was given. Presumably, if the widow, or the widow and her clan, gave it, the gift should have been "in honor of the children of her husband's clan"; part of the sum may have come from her husband's clan, who were represented by his kinsman. Her speech was in Tlingit and was interpreted for me in a quite sketchy manner. In any event, it is clear that she too was carrying out old patterns.

On yet another occasion early in the convention various members of the Hoonah Brotherhood and Sisterhood were publicly introduced to bring out all that they had done in connection with construction of the new hall at Hoonah. In the course of these presentations one of the senior officials of the convention who is considered something of a wit introduced one of the Hoonah ladies as his cross-cousin, using the Tlingit term for this privileged relationship, and put his arm around her waist, embarassing the lady considerably. He was fined by the convention, but in addition a very short time afterward it was announced that the Tern Society of Hoonah (which is actually a dance group composed of women of the Daqdentan clan to which the woman belonged) were inviting the convention to refreshments the following evening. The way in which it was announced was that all of the man's cross-cousins would serve refreshments and give a dance. This they did the following evening and then among them contributed some $50 to the convention. Both the purpose, of course, and the technique used, were those of the "face-saving" potlatch or potlach gift, to wipe out the embarrassment of their clanswoman.

In spite of these utilizations of potlatch procedures at the formal meetings of the Brotherhood, there is still considerable feeling among most of its members against the custom of the potlatch. It so happens that in the course of the last few years potlatching has undergone something of a revival in southeast Alaska. A number of men have

rebuilt the houses of their clans and have done so in the traditional way. That is to say, they have called upon members of the opposite moiety to provide the labor and called on their own clansmen to provide funds, and afterward have given a potlatch at which the members of the opposite moiety are paid and given presents in return for their labors. There are, it so happens, clan houses in most of the Tlingit communities, even including the Indian quarter of Juneau. All of these clan houses have been built or repaired in the traditional fashion just described. Interestingly enough several persons who object strongly to the potlatch consider that the A. N. B. itself had been indirectly responsible for the revival of potlatching. Within recent years when conventions have been held in any of the white communities the Brotherhood has sponsored a performance of Indian dances, at which admission is charged. The purpose of these shows is simply to raise funds. However, since the people concerned with these shows conscientiously try to stage attractive and authentic performances, and use considerable amounts of time-honored and highly valued ceremonial dance regalia, some aver that the older people have interpreted these performances as representing A. N. B. approval of the potlatch with which the dances were formerly associated. Whether there is any truth in this assertion is difficult to say. It may be that the people who are potlatching would have given potlatches anyhow, regardless of the shows sponsored by the A. N. B.

The instance of the man who successfully resolved his doubts as to the propriety of giving a potlatch by interpreting it as a historical, rather than a religious performance, has been mentioned. This man is a progressive leader in his community, a pillar of the church, and has been active in his A. N. B. camp throughout his adult life. He is also a successful fisherman, and owns one of the best seine boats in the village. He related in some detail the circumstances that had led him to give a potlatch a short time ago. When his uncle had died the informant had refused to accept the hereditary status and name. He explained his stand by saying that in this new day and age his English name was sufficient; he did not need an Indian name. Some of the members of his clan were rather hurt by his indifference to tradition. They often spoke to the informant about what a fine man his uncle the chief had been, how he had helped his people, and how much they regretted never hearing his name spoken in the village any more. The informant remained obdurate and unimpressed. On one occasion some of the older people attempted to trick him into acceptance of his uncle's position. They had invited him to a sort of minor social feast. One old man warmed his hands at the open fire, then suddenly turned and laid them against the informant's forehead announcing loudly "this is so-and-so," mentioning

the formal name by which the deceased chief had been known and which the informant should inherit. The informant said it made him feel rather bad, but he still believed that potlatching was somehow pagan and un-Christian, and, of course, to assume the name and position of his uncle he would have to give a potlatch. However, a number of years later the clan house, which had been completely neglected since the old chief's death, was in very ramshackle condition. Its foundations had sagged and rotted and finally in a heavy storm a good part of the roof was torn off. The sight of the dilapidated old house, which in its better days had been associated with his maternal uncle and other relatives to whom he felt strong emotional bonds, became most painful to the informant. He felt that he was neglecting a duty to his family. He also began to think over the conflict between potlatching and his religious convictions, and he finally convinced himself that the potlatch was not in any way a religious performance, but only "the history of the Tlingit people."

His conclusions, in summarized and slightly paraphrased form, were:

> I thought about it a long time, and I read the Bible a lot, until I finally understood. The missionaries were against the potlatch because they thought it was religion [i. e., a religious ceremony]. It wasn't their fault they didn't understand; they couldn't talk our language, and didn't know what we were doing. They thought because we say we "feed the dead through the fire" that we were worshiping our ancestors, like Chinamen. That's wrong. It's just a way to show we remember our old people, and respect them. That's not worshiping, like Chinamen. What the potlatch is really about is history. The potlatch tells the history of the Tlingit Indians. It tells where we came from, and the hard times our ancestors had. When I understood that, I knew it would be all right to give a potlatch. So I called in my old men and told them we would rebuild our house. Then we went to the chiefs of the other clans [i. e., of the opposite moiety] to ask them to get ready to do different parts of the work.

He carried out the whole proceeding in the traditional manner, requesting particular groups of individuals of the opposite moiety, through their own clan chiefs, to do particular jobs. He assembled quite a sizable sum of money, including his own funds, those contributed by his clanmates, and those contributed (as loans) by his brothers-in-law. This money was sufficient not only to purchase lumber and materials for repairing the house, but to give a major potlatch afterward when the work was done. At the time of the potlatch he assumed the traditional name which should be held by the chief of his clan, and he announced to all the people that henceforth he should be addressed by the name in Tlingit.

The clan and moiety system is another aspect of the ancient life that has been carried over into the modern period. So far as I was able to learn, these social institutions were never given any par-

ticular consideration by the A. N. B. No informant could recall that any particular efforts had ever been made for their abolition or abandonment. Most informants agree that there is still a pretty strong feeling against intramoiety marriages. A few such marriages occur, but members of the families concerned are usually quite upset about them, and other people regard such unions with disapproval. One man who had married a woman of his own moiety as the result of a school romance (the couple came from different clans, and in fact quite different towns) told me that the first few years of the marriage were made extremely difficult by nearly complete ostracism. After a time—the couple have been married in the neighborhood of a dozen years—as he put is, "People seem to be forgetting about it," and the couple find their social relationships less strained and difficult. I received the impression that the wife in this case outdoes herself in carrying out her clan duties such as making contributions toward the various sums assembled in connection with funeral rites.

To stress the strength of the feeling regarding the impropriety of marrying in the same moiety, a minister, himself an Indian, told me of an incident in which a woman came to him to request that if her daughter and a certain man should come to the minister to ask him to marry them, he should refuse. The reason was that the two young people were members of the same moiety. According to the minister's statement, both the young people were members of his congregation and he could not properly have refused to marry them (from his highly acculturated point of view). Fortunately they saved him from embarrassment by going to the United States Commissioner to be married.

Since the clans and the moiety system, along with the latter's control of marriage, are intimately related with potlatching through the Indian cycle beginning with the feasts given to pay members of the other moiety who function at time of burial, and the great commemorative affair given on the rebuilding of the clan house, it is rather remarkable that they have not come under fire—at least during the early days of the A. N. B. A possible explanation that suggests itself is that the missionaries who had guided the thinking of the founders of the Brotherhood, while they disapproved of the potlatch itself, did not understand its close integration with these other institutions. The nearest thing to an attack on the clan system was one directed at the funerary functions which are carried out by members of the opposite moiety who are subsequently repaid in a series of feasts and gift giving. In the 1920 version of the Brotherhood constitution a provision was written in, following, presumably, approval at the preceding convention, which provides for assistance to be rendered by the members of the Brotherhood to the families of a

deceased fellow member, and a cash contribution from the Camp treasury of no more than $40 to assist with the funeral expenses. (It is provided that additional funds donated in cases of need may not be taken from the Camp's treasury but can be provided by special collections made among the membership for the purpose.) In point of fact, it is not certain that this measure was intended as a deliberate attack on the clan and moiety system; it may have been aimed only at copying the beneficent provisions of white fraternal orders. As it works out in many cases nowadays, members of the Brotherhood (or of the Sisterhood if the deceased were a woman), are often called in "to assist the family," as it is described; in other words, to handle the actual details of preparing the body for burial, getting or making a coffin, etc. The Brotherhood then furnishes pallbearers to carry the body to the hall where it is usually kept and watched over overnight. The A. N. B. contribution may have been made right at the first, to assist in paying for the coffin and the new clothing for the body, etc., or it may be given later. As I understood, the usual procedure, if the A. N. B. participates as such in the funeral, is that the Camp provides pallbearers to carry the body in the coffin to church for a burial service. In a few cases the family may wish to have the Brotherhood continue to assist in the whole affair, including the actual burial. More commonly, according to what a number of people told me, clans of the opposite moiety (from that of the deceased) are called on to provide pallbearers from the church to the cemetery, to hire or provide a boat in case the cemetery is on an island nearby, to dig the grave, etc. Normally, of course, it is the clan of the deceased that makes the arrangements, requesting members of the opposite moiety to perform various services. As I understood the way it is done, certain chiefs of the opposite moiety are requested to arrange to have specific tasks carried out. While the clan of the deceased is considered to stand in very special relationship to him, it does not seem to be called on to perform any greater number of functions than any other group. A short time after the funeral, some clan, through its chief, which has taken only a minor part in the proceedings so far, may be requested to finish off the grave, mixing and laying a cover of concrete over it, perhaps fencing it in.

Later on when a tombstone is ordered some other chief of the opposite moiety (that is to say, if there are enough different clans or subdivisions of them within the village) may be requested to provide assistance transporting the tombstone, or bringing it up from the dock if it has been received by freight, and setting it up in front of the deceased's home or the house of the clan. After a time someone else may be requested to transport the tombstone to the grave and set it up there. The idea seems to be that as many people of the

opposite moiety as possible should be called on to perform various tasks and each time they are rewarded by giving them a feast and small gifts. A feast nowadays may take various forms. It may be given in something very like the old pattern with people sitting on the floor of the clan house and being served native foods. It may take the form of white-style dinner parties or banquets. A third procedure that may be followed, especially as a minor step in the proceedings, is to distribute foods informally to the guests: such things as apples, oranges, candy bars, soda pop, and the like are set out and given to the proper people in a somewhat informal fashion. (This is not ordinarily done in the case of a major step in the mortuary cycle.) I noted that the setting up of the late Charlie Newton's tombstone outside his clan house at Kake was celebrated in this way. For special reasons the recipients of such informal distributions may include members of both moietes. For example, on the occasion just described some extra boxes of candy bars and boxes of apples and oranges and cases of pop were set out to be given to the children as they came out of school, regardless of the moiety they belonged to. The reason for doing this was stated to be that Mr. Newton was very fond of children and was interested in their education. Practically all the children in the village came by after school let out in the afternoon and were given the things set aside for them.

From the foregoing it can be seen quite clearly that A. N. B. does not make any particular effort to interfere with the clan functions on these occasions. Rather, it seems as though in some cases the Brotherhood simply provides another group which can be called on for assistance and later will in some fashion be rewarded, just as the village brass bands and church choirs in Tsimshian and Niska villages participate in funerals along with the clans, and are similarly "paid for their services." The attitude of many people toward these activities by the clans is that someone has to be called on to perform these various tasks since there are no professional undertakers in the villages, and there is nothing particularly wrong with having the clans form the basis for recruitment for these tasks.

One minister, himself a mixblood, found himself in a somewhat peculiar position a short while ago after the death of a close relative of his own clan. He had spoken out very strongly on many occasions against the elaborate funeral feasts and potlatches, denouncing them as a return to paganism. He insisted that the whole performances were intended "to feed the dead" and were inconsistent with Christian belief and practices. However, on the grounds that someone had to do the various tasks that must be carried out in the course of the funeral, he could see nothing improper about calling on various persons of the opposite moiety when one of his own kinsmen died. He also

felt that it was necessary to remunerate them for their services. After a time, therefore, he called the various people who had assisted by preparing the body, acting as pallbearers, digging the grave, filling the grave, sealing it with concrete, etc., intending to pay them what he regarded as proper amounts, somewhere between $20 and $40 for each of these various acts. Then he was surprised to discover that some other people of his clan had assembled something over a thousand dollars which they intended to distribute at this time to the accompaniment of ancient mourning songs and dances of their clan. The informant saw that there was nothing he could do other than to tell his kinsmen that he did not approve of the distribution of the major sum and the singing and dancing and intended to absent himself from the house while those events were being staged.

The clan houses themselves are, of course, closely related with the potlatching pattern because a potlatch must be given on the occasion of their building, or, in fact, on that of any major repair to them. Yet they do not seem to be regarded as detrimental in themselves except at Hoonah. There the perennial mayor, Harry Douglas, regarded them as providing the essential outlet for the performance of the old-fashioned feasts and potlatches which he regards as pagan, uneconomic, and particularly bad for children of the persons involved who, he says, are often neglected for weeks at a time. When Hoonah was rebuilt after the fire in 1944 under a contract with the Federal Housing Administration, Douglas was able to arrange that all the houses in the project should be allocated to individuals and not to clans. He also pushed through a municipal ordinance making the giving of feasts or potlatches in the city limits illegal and another prohibiting the construction of clan houses within the city limits. There are, however, two clan houses at Hoonah built just on the outskirts of the town, one by Jimmy Young and one by Jimmy Martin. Both of these men are highly influential members of the community. Young, as has been mentioned, in addition to being the head of his clan and also the nominal owner of the clan house, has been active in church work and has been an elder of the Presbyterian Church for many years. He is also said to have been the founder of the A. N. B. local camp at Hoonah and was quite active in that organization. Martin, although a younger man, is likewise quite active and highly regarded in the community.

LANGUAGE

It has been pointed out that in the original draft of the constitution of the A. N. B., stress was laid on the speaking of English. At the annual convention all proceedings are conducted in English except

on infrequent occasions when someone, usually an older person, falls back on Tlingit usually as an oratorical gesture in the course of a speech. The fact that there are non-Tlingit-speaking people at the convention, the Haida delegation from Hydaburg and formerly another from Kasaan and an occasional person of Tsimshian descent from Ketchikan, makes use of English for most purposes essential. However, in the meetings in the local camps a considerable part of the business is conducted in Tlingit, and probably, though I have no certain information on the point, Haida is used to the same extent in Hydaburg. The reason for this is primarily that the dominant membership in the villages consists of the elderly people who, while they speak some English and many of them speak it quite well, find themselves more comfortable speaking their own tongue. In communities like Angoon and Hoonah the younger people also for the most part speak Tlingit, but according to several informants the use of the Indian language by the elderly was the cause of slight interest and poor attendance at Brotherhood meetings by young people in such towns as Juneau. The reason is, of course, that many of the younger generation who have grown up in Juneau, Sitka, Ketchikan, and other white towns, do not have a working knowledge of their native tongue.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION

Some of the earliest Federal legislation passed for Alaska was concerned with prohibiting sale of alcoholic liquors to natives. Over the course of time that law became a dead letter by popular usage. It appears that attempts at enforcement in the early years of this century, prior to passage of the national prohibition law, were at best desultory; with repeal of that law in 1933 Indians were served drinks at bars and openly purchased bottles of liquor as anyone else. A good many Indians believe that this derives from some special right, somehow connected with the fact that they do not live on reservations. Such is not the case, however; prior to the recent passage of a law removing the prohibition on sale of liquor to all United States Indians, such sales were as illegal in Alaska as in the States. Yet since the usage had come to be regarded as a right by so many people, the Indians came to develop a markedly aggressive attitude toward drinking, as if by drinking they were proving that they were on equal terms with whites. There are undoubtedly other factors contributing to what appears to be the compulsive drinking indulged in by many Indians in southeast Alaska, but I am convinced that this is a particularly potent one. Lemert (1954) has discussed various motivations for Indian drinking, which all probably contribute, but this factor seems especially potent.

Most thoughtful Indians of southeast Alaska regard the liquor problem as a major one among their people. They point out, and unquestionably correctly, that numerous drownings occur every year as a direct result of drinking. The factors are: an intoxicated person going to his boat at night bundled up in winter clothing and hip boots, the slippery float, the swift tidal current racing by, and the bitter cold water—a very deadly combination. They maintain that many individuals spend such a large part of their incomes on protracted sprees at the end of the fishing season that they are often unable to feed and clothe their children adequately through the winter. However, this is a question on which the A. N. B. has not been able to formulate a definite stand other than to inveigh at times against the drinking of alcoholic beverages. There are a few individuals, particularly among the more active Indian church workers, who are in favor of a Territorial or Federal law which would prevent the sale of liquor to Alaskan natives. (They would prefer complete prohibition for the Territory, but are realistic enough to know that the chances for passage of such a law are very slim indeed.) Most Indians, however, are bitterly opposed to such a measure on the grounds that it would be discriminatory. It would, they say, be a step backward, a long step in fact, since for years Indians of Alaska were not subjected to that particular discrimination. Most of the Indian villages have local ordinances preventing the establishment of liquor stores or the sale of alcoholic beverages within the city limits. No one, however, in or out of the Brotherhood has been able to devise a workable plan which will effectively reduce consumption of liquor by the Indians.

DISCRIMINATION

For a number of years even after the Indians' rights as citizens had been established and were universally recognized in southeast Alaska, some of the early-day discriminatory practices continued. For example, all movies had sections of the balcony set off with signs that read "For Natives Only." Certain stores, restaurants, and hotels had signs indicating that they did not serve Indians, etc. At one of the early conventions these matters were called to the attention of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, but at that time it was decided that the Brotherhood should not make discrimination an issue as yet, but should first concentrate on such issues as citizenship, the right of Indian children to attend Territorial schools, and the campaign against fish traps. About 1929, however, the Brotherhood became actively involved in the problem. A certain well-educated, sophisticated Indian, who was at that time a grand officer of the Brotherhood, was refused admission to the main floor

of a motion picture house in Juneau. He was told that he would have to sit in the balcony in the native section. He became highly indignant at what he regarded as an infringement of his rights and left the theater. He discussed the matter with a friend, who was grand president of the A. N. B. that year. They met with some other members of the Executive Committee and resolved on a boycott. Their next step was to notify all the Camps that a boycott was to be established. It so happened that the particular theater in which the man concerned had had his difficulty was one of a chain that operated in several towns of southeast Alaska. Its practices in regard to treatment of natives did not differ from those of the other theaters, but the members of the Executive Committee decided it would probably be more vulnerable. At the time the membership of the Brotherhood was notified of the boycott against the motion picture theaters, it was also suggested that they should stay away from any other place of business that had separate sections for natives. Apparently many restaurants refused to serve natives. Some of the local Camps, for example the one at Wrangell, posted a member regularly near the entrance to the boycotted theater. His duty was to remind any Indians that he saw approaching that the Brotherhood did not want them to give their business to that theater, and if they disregarded him, he notified their local Camp which was supposed to fine them. Apparently the Indian business constituted an important enough share of the business of the theaters so that the boycott was soon felt.

It was not too long afterward, my informant recalled—perhaps a month later—that the offending signs were removed from all the theaters of the boycotted chain and Indians were permitted to sit anywhere. Once the chain began this policy, other theaters found themselves obliged to follow suit and this set the pattern for a gradual disappearance of discriminatory signs from most places of business. Apparently many white businessmen became aware for the first time of the strength and effectiveness of the Brotherhood.

A number of people commented that actually it was the idea that was offensive to the Indians—not the fact of being seated in one particular place. They pointed out that in most cases Indian members of the audience tend to sit together anyhow even now. The Brotherhood, through circular letters to the various camps and through the medium of the Alaska Fisherman, its official journal, called the attention of the membership to the desirability of taking care to conduct themselves in an orderly fashion to avoid things that might give offense in public places. It was repeatedly pointed out that people should change clothes before attending a movie

after they had been handling fish in the local cannery, or shellfish in one of the town packing plants, because many white people objected to the fish odors.

Another informant related that even after this, the problem of discrimination continued in some establishments. It was said that in Juneau in the mid-1930's a group of Indians, incensed at being refused admission to an ice-cream parlor, entered forcibly and did considerable damage to the place with the intention of creating a test case. They were not, however, arrested. However, such procedures were never sanctioned by the Brotherhood. Finally in 1946, at a special session, the Territorial Legislature passed an antidiscrimination law. The Alaska Native Brotherhood had been urging that this step be taken and a number of its officers went to Juneau to form what actually amounted to a lobby, discussing the matter with various members of the legislature. A number of the white legislators requested permission to introduce the bill since it was felt that it would be better for one of them to do so than for one of the Indian members. It is said that it appeared at first there would be no opposition at all to the measure, but at the last moment opposition developed and formal hearings were held. Various members of the Brotherhood made themselves available as witnesses, and finally the bill was passed. I was told that subsequent to this time no Indian has ever had to invoke the bill in southeast Alaska, although a few Negroes and Aleuts have done so. At the present time observations suggest that discrimination, at least against Indian customers in places of business, has been eliminated. Indians receive the same treatment as whites.[29] However, many Indians are still quite conscious of the possibility of being discriminated against on the ground of their race, and in conversation they indicate that they would be highly resentful of such treatment.

Most Indian servicemen who enlisted or were drafted into the Army in World War II were assigned to an Alaskan unit in which the enlisted personnel of certain companies were all natives: Indians, Eskimos, and some Aleuts. Interestingly enough, they did not seem to have interpreted this as discriminatory or as a form of segregation. It may have been that they found themselves from the first more at ease and more comfortable among friends from nearby villages and other natives with whom they felt such common bonds. The pattern has persisted, or so it seems; most of the National Guard units from the various Indian villages are grouped together, I was told, in all-native companies in the Alaska National Guard organization.

[29] Reference here is to service in public facilities: Stores, restaurants, hotels, etc. There is still considerable discrimination in employment outside of the fishing industry.

A. N. B. RELIGIOUS BIAS

Despite the influence of Presbyterian missionaries on the founders of the Brotherhood, the organization has deliberately maintained a nonsectarian position. Only on one occasion, it is reported, was there a move to support the activities of any one church or mission group exclusively, and it was not entirely clear how that happened to come about. It may have been an accidental overenthusiastic attempt to express approval of good works rather than an attempt to give the organization a sectarian bias. Immediately the effects of the move were recognized, and it was overwhelmingly decided that the A. N. B. should avoid any favoritism whatsoever. The fines collected at conventions and other funds raised are given after the conventions to various schools and orphanages, most of which are operated by or affiliated with some church. However, each year donations are deliberately distributed among institutions of the sort which are affiliated with different Christian churches, Presbyterian institutions, a Roman Catholic one, a Greek Catholic one, etc. This nonsectarian position is dramatized at annual conventions by inviting ministers of different churches alternately to give the invocation with which each day's session is opened.

EXPANSION PROGRAM

At the annual convention in 1951 it was formally resolved that the Alaska Native Brotherhood should send delegates to organize camps among the Indians of southwest Alaska. The committee on the budget allocated funds for travel and expenses of these representatives. For one reason or another the representatives were unable to make the journey but the project is still considered by the Brotherhood to be a part of their long-range plans of growth. The reasons for this resolution were first to strengthen the Brotherhood by the addition of members; that is to say, to increase its political strength and to add to its financial resources through the share of the dues which the new camps would send in. The second motive was a more altruistic one of putting the resources of the Brotherhood behind the Eskimos and Athabascan-speaking Indians of southwest Alaska who are reported to be in a difficult situation economically. The communities there are said to be quite small, many lacking educational facilities and medical attention. As a matter of fact, through correspondence and similar channels of communication a few southwestern Alaskan communities have requested charters from the Brotherhood and have set up local camps, but just how well these function is not clear. The polyglot native community at Dillingham is reported to have a very active camp.

It was not made clear how the activities of the proposed camps in southwestern Alaska would be coordinated with the parent organization. Apparently the matter was discussed at the time it was decided to organize the new camps, but no firm decisions were arrived at. Presumably the southwestern Alaska chapters would form a unit by themselves. The cohesion that has resulted from the system of holding annual conventions at which delegates from each camp in southeast Alaska are present would obviously be unworkable, with the high costs of transportation and the reported low cash income of the Eskimos and Athabascans in the southwestern part of the Territory. The main reliance would have to be on written correspondence.

A chapter of the Brotherhood is said to have been organized a few years ago among the Eskimo of Nome. It is recounted that a member of the Executive Committee who visited Nome in the course of some other business organized the chapter there. Since that time the group at Nome has apparently renamed itself the "Arctic Native Brotherhood" but is said to still regard itself as affiliated with the southeastern Alaska organization and to keep in communication by letter. The 1952 convention at Hoonah was attended by a mixed-blood Eskimo from Unakakleet who had come to Juneau on business. He came to the convention to see for himself how the Brotherhood functioned and what it did. He was made the object of very cordial treatment. Among other things he was elected an officer of the Grand Camp, second Grand Vice President, which was, of course, in his case intended primarily as an honor since he was not expected to function in the usual manner. He appeared to be quite impressed with the organization and stated his intention of trying to work out some plan to organize chapters among his people in the north and to maintain the maximum possible degree of affiliation with the southeastern Alaskan organization.

METLAKATLA, ALASKA

The relationship of Metlakatla to the Alaska Native Brotherhood merits some comment. Although the Rev. Edward Marsden, as stated previously, was active in the Brotherhood during its early years, he did not organize his home community. Probably he could not have done so because of the factional split he himself was creating there by establishing a Presbyterian Church in opposition to Duncan's Metlakatla Christian Mission. Although the community acted as host to a Brotherhood convention in the mid-1930's, a camp was never organized there. To this day there appears to be no interest among A. N. B. members in getting Metlakatla into the organization.

Various reasons, and rationalizations, are offered by informants as to why this progressive Indian community has never been won

over to the A. N. B. fold. One of the readiest explanations is that, according to some Metlakatlans, the community has become sufficiently well acculturated and adjusted to the modern world so that it does not need the aid and support of the organization. The Tlingit side of this particular coin runs more or less this way: "They think they are so good over at Metlakatla, that they don't need the Brotherhood. But are they really fouled up over there!" The real basis of this attitude goes back to the Tlingit-Tsimshian feuds and wars of past generations. Memories of old rancors still come to the fore; one rather cynical informant remarked, in discussing the problems that beset the rather weak Ketchikan Camp of the A. N. B., "If we could only have three Camps here in Ketchikan, one for Tlingit, one for Tsimshian, and one for Haida, we'd get along fine."

Some Metlakatlans phrase their community's opposition to the A. N. B. in terms of a sort of feud with William Paul. Mr. Paul, influenced apparently by the traditional history of clashes between the Tsimshian and his tribe, the Stikine, has not been altogether tactful in his dealings with them. This motive of Metlakatlan opposition to Paul, however, is heard at Metlakatla less frequently than among Paul's opponents in the Tlingit villages. As a matter of fact, a goodly number of sophisticated Tsimshian, particularly those of the Presbyterian group, say they believe Metlakatla should join the A. N. B. However, it is probably impossible for that faction-torn community to organize a representative group into a camp that could operate in a unified manner.

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION

In the fall of 1952 the present writer was privileged to be able to attend the annual convention of the Alaska Native Brotherhood held that year at Hoonah. This opportunity to see the organization in actual operation afforded a great deal of insight into its functional aspects. One of the most impressive features of the convention, which lasted from Monday, November 10, through Saturday, November 15, was the very efficient, businesslike way in which the work of the convention was carried on. Parliamentary rules were adroitly used to keep the convention working at top speed. Daily minutes, resolutions, and other materials were reproduced on the mimeograph machines and promptly disseminated. The way work was accomplished it was most obvious that officers and delegates of the organization were thoroughly indoctrinated in convention procedures, and could hold their own in any similar sort of meeting with white fellow citizens.

The program and agenda for the convention had been prepared in advance by the A. N. B. Grand Secretary, printed in attractive

form with a cover which featured the organization's colors of red and yellow, and disseminated to the camps well in advance. Addresses by officials of the Alaskan Native Service, the Alaska Department of Health, the Territorial Commissioner of Education, and others had been arranged for and were scheduled on various days during the course of the convention. Each day's meeting was commenced with a call to order by the Grand President, the singing of the A. N. B. battle song, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," a reading from the Scriptures, and an invocation by one of the several clergymen at Hoonah and ministers who were present as delegates. Most of the work of the first day was devoted to appointment and organization of various committees: ways and means, fisheries, credentials, audit, constitution, education, health, benefits and gifts, and the committee for the grand ball which was to terminate the convention. In the afternoon the area director of the Alaskan Native Service addressed the convention, and in the evening the officers of the Hoonah camp formally greeted the convention as hosts. The subsequent days were taken up with the sort of business with which any orderly convention must occupy itself. An important item of business recurring daily was the introduction of resolutions which had been prepared by local camps and turned in to the Resolutions Committee. The great majority of these resolutions concerned matters of localized interests. Many were directed to the Fish and Wildlife Commission and concerned requests for modifications of fishing and hunting laws. For example, some village might request that the opening date for commercial fishing in certain nearby waters be set earlier or later to correspond better with the principal run of fish. Some of the officers of the organization told me privately that they regard these resolutions as pretty much of a loss of time since the Federal agency concerned seldom appears to give them any attention at all. Nonetheless, presenting such resolutions and having them transmitted with the approval of the entire convention gives the membership in the local camps a strong feeling of participation in A. N. B. activities. It is therefore continued despite lack of effect.

From time to time there were breaks in the order's serious business during which the delegates took the floor to present good-humored complaints against their fellows and offered resolutions that the convention fine the "offenders." As has been remarked the purpose of these fines was quite serious; it was to raise funds for charitable purposes, but the good-natured raillery that accompanied the resolutions gave a respite from the serious business of the convention. This interchange of seriousness and levity is often utilized at similar gatherings of white groups. It is worth noting, however, that is was also a very dis-

tinctive part of the aboriginal ceremonial pattern on the Northwest Coast.

The climax of the convention was the election of officers which took place on Friday. Principally because of the intense rivalry between the two principal factions of the organization there was great interest in this event. Since it was generally conceded that control of the major offices was of great importance in directing the organization's policies, a great deal of political maneuvering went on prior to the nominations. It was, of course, impossible for an outsider to determine just what was accomplished and what arrangements were made. As a matter of fact, even the program of the convention had been drafted with the election in mind. One discussion scheduled that was aimed at getting convention disapprobation of the Territorial Fish Commission was to be led by two members of the Executive Committee who were known to have voted for the establishment of this commission during their terms of office in the Territorial House of Representatives. It so happened that this particular pitfall was adroitly evaded by the presiding Grand President and the particular discussion was indefinitely postponed and never took place. To return to the election itself, all nominees made speeches accompanying the nominations. Some of them very obviously tried to indicate a middle-of-the-road stand or tried to carry water on both shoulders, depending on how one looked at it, in hopes of getting approval of both parties. As it turned out, most such candidates failed to win the approval of either faction and a slate of faction candidates was eventually elected.

The convention was closed on the evening of Saturday, November 15, by the grand ball which was begun by a formal installation of the new officers—an impressive ceremony, carried out with a great deal of dignity. The grand ball itself was impressive from the point of view of dress and comportment of the participants. The officers and delegates at the convention were of course the leaders among the Tlingit and Haida in Alaska. There is not the least doubt but that many of them would be quite at ease in a social gathering of whites on any social or economic level.

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PART 2. THE NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The administrative atmosphere in which Indian acculturation developed in British Columbia was a somewhat peculiar one, differing in many respects from that in the rest of Canada. It is interesting to note that, although as the result of factors historically quite distinct, there evolved a set of conditions very similar to those in Alaska. This was particularly true with regard to policy on Indian rights. The topic of Indian lands will be discussed in detail in a later section, but some features of the problem must be sketched in to present the full picture of the evolution of policy in the province.

In eastern Canada, Indian policy was very similar to that in the United States, for the obvious reason that Canadian and United State policies derived from the same source. Briefly it may be characterized as having the complete assimilation of the Indian as its final goal, that is, through cultural adaption his elimination as a racial entity. The road to this cultural adaption was seen to be through education to white Canadian skills, patterns, and values. To accomplish this thorough transformation, the Indians were segregated on large reservations, or "reserves" as the tracts are called in Canada, where they could be protected from deleterious influences and subjected to intensive education, generally aimed at converting them into tillers of the soil. As part of this process, treaties were invariably made by which the Indians relinquished their aboriginal lands to the Government in exchange for the reserve lands, treaty moneys, and schools and welfare programs guaranteed by the Government. The similarity to United States Indian policy is clear. In British Columbia, however, this administration pattern never went into effect.

During the epoch prior to the establishment of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, while Hudson's Bay Company exercised control of the coast, such areas as this Company occupied were taken over through very formal legal transactions. Though some young modern Indians may grumble at the modest prices paid in these arrangements, and though the chiefs who made the "sales" may not have understood all the implications thereof, there is no question but that the Company's servants complied as best they could with Company policy of acquiring such tracts as were needed by means thoroughly correct before English law. Of course the areas thus

alienated for trading posts, their gardens, etc., and even the coal mines at Fort Rupert and Nanaimo, were neglible from the regional viewpoint. Sir James Douglas, on establishment of the colony, continued the same course, as far as he could. Title to the lands of lower Vancouver Island not already acquired was to be acquired by purchase, through which native title was extinguished. Douglas, a man who had spent most of his adult life dealing with Indians, and who understood them well, was very honestly concerned for their welfare. His individual opinion was that they would become assimilated most rapily if left in small groups, scattered among white settlers. Perhaps this was a result of Douglas' familiarity with the basic local group organization of Northwest Coast society. At any rate, he was quite concerned that tracts of adequate size should be set aside for each group.

During Douglas' governorship, he attempted to continue this policy, but ran into difficulties. When the lands in the Cowichan, Chemainus, Salt Spring Island, and other regions of lower Vancouver Island were thrown open for colonization in 1861, Douglas informed the House of Assembly that funds must be provided to extinguish native title to these tracts. The infant colony, which was struggling desperately to keep its head above water financially, did not have the funds, even though Douglas, who like a good Scot did not believe in squandering pence, let alone guineas, estimated that the modest sum of £3,000 would suffice to acquire the many thousands of acres involved. When the colony appealed to the Home Government for aid, the request was brusquely refused. This reply, which infuriated many colonists, stated that the British taxpayer should not be burdened with the colony's internal problems (although it seems that receipts from sales of the lands concerned to white settlers, or a large part of them, were transmitted to England). There was some further fruitless communication over the matter, and eventually the whole thing was dropped. The lands were occupied by whites, the Indians were not paid and were quite annoyed, and there the situation was left.

In the Mainland Colony, Douglas deviated from his policy by making no attempt to extinguish Indian land title. He did, however, order very large reserves laid off in the Fraser River region, some of which were surveyed, and some of which were not. Just why Sir James followed this new procedure is nowhere made clear, but it seems a reasonable guess that the failure to get funds to extinguish Indian title on Vancouver Island led him to try a different solution.

After Douglas' retirement from public life the colony's policy became less liberal (the Colony of Vancouver Island and the Mainland Colony were merged to become the single Colony of British Columbia in 1860). There came to be numerous demands for reducing the size

of some of the reserves, on the grounds that the Indians actually made no use of the land. J. W. Trutch, who became Commissioner of Lands and Works in 1866, began to carry out this reduction, and also came to formulate colony Indian policy. In 1867 he specifically denied that the Indians had any right to land beyond that actually required by them, that is, the reserves; in 1870, in an official memorandum, he declared, as a fait accompli, that the concept that the Indian had ever had title to land in fee simple had been completely denied and disproved in British Columbia. In short, he eliminated the principle of aboriginal land right entirely.[30]

At the time of confederation with Canada, in 1871, the conduct of Indian affairs was one of the administrative responsibilities turned over to the Dominion Government. Clause 13 of the "Terms of the Union" states that in Indian matters the Dominion Government was to follow "A policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government after Union." Some writers have objected to this phraseology as shockingly cynical, for British Columbia Indian policy was anything but liberal. Nonetheless, the clause on later occasions served as documentary support of liberal policy in disputes between the Province and the Dominion, and also points up how little was known in eastern Canada about conditions on the coast.

Dominion regulation of Indian affairs brought no changes for some time, despite attempts by the Dominion Government to carry out, as nearly as it could, its policies standardized in the East. There were at this time only 28,437 acres set aside as reserves, of which 5,302 acres were on lower Vancouver Island, and the remainder in the Fraser Valley and southern interior. The Dominion wanted to set aside additional reserves, and to increase the size of many of those already established; the Province refused to make land available. There was a long period of bickering and conflict. One source of difficulty was the British Columbians' conviction, not altogether unjustified, that the people "back east in Canada" had no understanding of conditions on the coast. Another factor was the growing resentment of the Dominion Government's failure to carry out one of the crucial terms of the agreement: the construction of a railway connecting the Pacific coast with eastern Canada.[31] One must realize the reason for this feeling: even the most ardent proponents of con-

[30] He appears to have denied that extinguishment of Indian title had ever been deemed necessary in British Columbia, apparently drawing a very fine distinction between Douglas' land purchases for this purpose, which were made under the Hudson's Bay Company regime, and the failure to conclude such arrangements after establishment of the colonies.

[31] The surveys were to have been completed within 2 years after confederation, the railway itself within 10 years. A good number of years passed before even the surveys were completed and the route was selected. Finally in 1883 the Dominion Government reached an agreement with a private syndicate to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1886.

federation saw that British Columbia had to have easy communication with the East to function as part of the Dominion.

Meanwhile, the Indians in the southern part of the Province were becoming more and more restive, to the point where white alarmists were predicting an Indian uprising. In 1874 a missionary in the Okanagon country wrote a strong condemnation of Indian policy, which received wide publicity in the East. Finally, in 1876, a joint Dominion-Provincial Commission was established to study the Indian question and to solve the reserve problem. In agreeing to establish this Commission, the Dominion surrendered its stand on a number of points, which will be discussed in more detail in connection with the land problem itself. Governor-General Lord Dufferin's vitriolic address at Victoria, condemning Provincial Indian policy, formed another subclimax to this phase of policy formulation.

Meanwhile, another storm was building. As one result of Duncan's successful and well-known missionary work at Metlakatla, there came to be considerable missionary activity on the coast, especially in the north. While none of the missionaries undertook to duplicate Duncan's achievements, many were influenced by his methods. Thus, the Reverend Mr. Doolan built the new town of Kincolith, drawing converts from the pagan villages of the Nass; Laxgalt'sap (later Greenville) and Aiyanch were also new towns, though less far removed, geographically, from the native villages. The missionaries also adopted Duncan's views on the need for complete acculturation—though they did not call it that—to white standards in work habits, economics, dress, and the like, if real and lasting conversion to Christianity were to be attained. Therefore they began to take a deep interest in secular matters, including the already bitterly disputed land question. Eventually, as might be expected, they were subjected to sharp criticism in certain quarters, and were accused of unduly influencing the Indians in nonspiritual affairs—indeed, of stirring up trouble among them. These accusations, if unkind, probably had some basis in fact. The missionaries who came out to devote their lives to the wild tribes of the Northwest were determined men, with the courage of their convictions. They never doubted their ability to make decisions as to what was best for their flocks. In addition, they had considerable authority in the villages. In 1863 or 1864, Governor Douglas had given Duncan a Magistrate's commission, to aid him in his fight against vendors of liquor to the Indians. The later missionaries were similarly commissioned. The authority to appoint constables in their villages, to order arrests, and to try and punish offenders against the peace was a powerful weapon. None of them were anxious to see the arrival of ordinary civil authority in the form of Indian agents.

A remarkable episode occurred at Metlakatla about 1881 or 1882. Public pressure for designation of Indian agents had finally resulted in the appointment of six. One was detailed to Metlakatla; he went there, along with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia, on a gunboat sent to investigate trouble at that community. The Duncan-Ridley feud was in full flame. After an inconclusive hearing, the agent is reported to have conferred with the Indians by whom he was told, according to Wellcome (1887, pp. 227–228), that they had no interest in "coming under the Indian Act," which was for wild tribes, not advanced people like themselves, and further, they did not want him as their agent. So he humbly went away. It seems incredible that neither he nor the superintendent insisted on recognition of the Government's authority. Most likely they were afraid of getting caught in the crossfire between Duncan and Ridley, both of whom had, of course, strong supporters as well as bitter opponents across Canada and in England.

Many contemporaries, incidentally, deplored the Duncan-Ridley fight, which they alleged was unsettling in the extreme to the Indians. What appears to have been overlooked at the time was that the long, acrimonious, and undignified wrangle focused native attention on the land problem especially. One of the points at issue (to be discussed more fully later on), soon came to be the 2-acre lot in the middle of the village which the Province intended to survey and transfer by deed to the Church Missionary Society for Ridley's use. The Indians' interference with the surveyors, their consequent arrest and imprisonment, and the flood of angry letters pro and con in the Daily Colonist must have made the northern natives more land-problem conscious than ever.

Meanwhile, the Joint Commission on reserves labored as it could, but its accomplishments were limited because of the continued basic difference of view between Province and Dominion. By 1886, according to Shankel (MS), disagreement had reached the point where all cooperation collapsed. Although Provincial officials had originally urged the posting of Indian agents, the Provincial Government refused to make their law-enforcement facilities—constables, courts, and jails—available to Indian agents. The latter were rendered nearly powerless thereby. This appears to be the chief reason why the Department of Indian Affairs was unable to enforce the prohibition on potlatching, which had been incorporated into the Indian Act in one form or another since 1885. (Even later, after tension eased, agents were consistently unable to get convictions on potlatch charges in Provincial courts.) Shankel states also that, in such cases as Indian agents were empowered to try, they refused to turn over the half of each fine collected to the Province, although this was

provided for in the Indian Act itself. In other words, things were at a complete impasse. Nonetheless, a Provincial Commission of Enquiry, set up in 1887 to look into conditions among the Indians of the "northwest coast" (by which they meant the northern coasts of British Columbia) concluded that more Indian agents, and well-qualified ones, should be stationed on the coast. This commission in its findings stated that "complete control" of Indians by missionaries was a mistake. Specific objections were voiced against the missionary practice of setting up municipal self-government by elective officials in the villages. Typically, the village councils were allowed (extralegally by the missionaries) to try and punish minor cases, usually involving violations of (also extralegal) village ordinances.

Gradually Dominion-Provincial relationships in the area of Indian affairs improved. Prospects of reaching a final settlement on the land question and other issues helped to relax the tension. When, at long last, a Royal Commission was appointed to hold formal hearings on the Indian claims, and rendered a decision (one upholding the Province's position), the way was cleared for effective cooperation between local and Federal governments.[32]

As the administrative pattern developed, each Indian agent was responsible for a number of villages and their scattered reserves. Insofar as practicable, the agencies coincided with linguistic divisions: thus, all the southern Kwakiutl were and are under one agent; the Niska, coast Tsimshian, and part of the Gitksan under another, and so on. The agencies were, and still are, quite large. One receives the impression that the agent's major function was considered to be that of law enforcement. He held a magistrate's commission, and thus could try minor cases; for more serious offenses he could bring charges, at which time Provincial police (Royal Canadian Mounted Police during periods in which the Province contracted for policing by that organization) made the arrest and the case was tried before a provincial court. (As stated, there was a period during which agents got negligible cooperation from the Province, but eventually

[32] All Canadian Federal legislation affecting Indians (but not Eskimos) is incorporated into a single act (except for certain matters relating to enfranchisement, which are included in the Citizenship Act); a fact that strikes one at first as not only more orderly but more conducive to consistency of policy than the several thousand scattered and unrelated pieces of legislation affecting Indians in the United States. On the other hand, tailoring a single piece of legislation, even a long one of many articles, to cover requirements of groups whose conditions and degree of acculturation differ as widely as, for instance, those of Abnaki, Iroquois, Babine, and Tsimshian results in either extreme rigidity of policy and resultant unsuitability to many of the people subject to the act, or else means that flexibility must be written in by giving considerable power as to extent of application of the law to the administering agency of the Government—the Department of Indian Affairs. The Canadian Indian Act takes the latter course, even in its latest revised version; a great deal of discretion is permitted the Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, under whose authority the Indian Affairs Branch is now placed.

this difficulty was overcome.) The agent also kept records on vital statistics and the like. Education and public health remained in the hands of missionary organizations mainly, the Indian Department assisting through direct subsidy. The quality of Indian education under this system was highly variable. If the resident missionary in a village was interested in education, and was a competent teacher, the children who attended his school were relatively well taught; were he not qualified, he did the best he could, but education suffered. At residential (boarding) schools, like the one maintained for some years at Metlakatla, that at Alert Bay, and the Catholic school at Clayoquot, teaching was usually more competently done, and was of course accompanied by a more intensive 24-hour-a-day stress on acculturation. The public health work carried on by the medical missionaries was of high quality, but spread very thin; these men labored valiantly but were too few and with too scant facilities to serve the Indian population adequately.

During the depression years of the 1930's, the concept of state (both National and Provincial) responsibility for welfare developed in Canada. I do not know the precise relationship of the growth of this sociopolitical philosophy to comparable developments in England and in the United States, nor is this point pertinent to the present discussion. What is significant is that in the years following World War II legislative enactments providing for such things as pensions for the aged and for the blind, "family allowances" (monthly payments by the State toward the maintenance of minor children), and similar measures were in force, and came to be extended to Indians as well as whites. In addition, more funds were made available to the Indian Department for education programs. The Department took over operation of the day schools, apparently to the relief of the Protestant mission organizations who were wearying of the burden. New schools were built and staffed. Similarly, responsibility for public health among Indians was transferred to the Department of Health, which immediately got a public-health program on a major scale underway.

The same postwar period saw a complete reversal of Provincial Indian policy. It came to be recognized that the Indians of British Columbia, particularly the coast tribes, were well on the way to becoming fellow citizens, and that, sooner or later, the Federal Indian Department would cut back its functions, transferring more and more responsibility for the Indians to the Province, not as "wards" but as Canadian nationals. The Province supplemented Federal funds to bring the level of old-age pensions to that of whites, and it made possible admission of Indian children to Provincial schools (final decision, as I understand, rests with the local school board). When the Indian

Department began to equate Indian school curricula and standards with those of Provincial schools, Provincial school inspectors were assigned to visit Indian schools. When the day comes for Indian schools to be taken over by the Province, there will be no violent strain or drastic change, as far as curricula and standards go. Two other steps marking the new Provincial attitude were the giving to Indians the right to enter "beer parlors" and drink beer there (although the right to purchase package goods, either beer or distilled liquors, is still denied them), and the Provincial enfranchising of the Indian. An Indian can now vote in Provincial (but not in Dominion) elections, and can hold office as well—in fact as these data were collected an educated young Niska was serving creditably in the Provincial legislature. Perhaps the most forward-looking step of all was the setting up, in 1950, of an advisory committee consisting of 3 white British Columbians and 3 Indians, with a paid executive secretary, reporting to the Provincial Minister of Labor, to study Indian conditions and problems for the purpose of advising the Provincial government when it assumes the responsibility of governing the native population.

The overall picture of Indian administration in British Columbia is thus one of a relatively long period during which exercise of legal sanctions was the chief work of Indian agents, education and medical care were in hands of missionary organizations who did what they could with their limited budgets (their own funds supplemented by Government subsidies), and general welfare programs were practically nonexistent. Economically, the Indians had to sink or swim in an increasingly industrialized environment, in competition with whites and orientals already well adjusted to an industrial society. The Province during this period meant little to the Indians aside from being the executive agent in enforcing the Dominion's legal sanctions: its police, courts, and jails were the provincial entities with which Indians were most familiar. (As recounted before, in the years following confederation, when Dominion-Province relations were strained, these agencies could be relied on to be lenient; later, they tended to deal quite severely with Indian offenders.) Following World War II, however, both Federal and Provincial attitudes and policies changed tremendously. The amount nad quality of educational, public-health, and welfare services were stepped up, to the degree that the Indian is as well cared for in these respects as is the white British Columbian.[33]

[33] I do not mean, obviously, that educational and medical facilities in a village of 200 or 300 souls in a place like the Nass River are as good as those in Vancouver or Victoria; they are, however, quite comparable to those in a white community of comparable size and remoteness.

Similarly, the Provincial government has taken the view that the Indians are well on the way to becoming ordinary members of the community no longer requiring special Federal administration. For that reason it has begun to extend them rights beyond those of "wards" of the Dominion Government, and to plan to incorporate them into the Provincial community.

THE LAND QUESTION

As indicated in the foregoing section, the question of Indian lands and land rights in British Columbia was a focal point in the evolution of administrative policy until the late 1920's, and some aspects of it continue to pose thorny problems today. Here, I shall outline the history of the land question separately, as far as possible, from general administrative matters, and shall sketch Indian reactions to it.[34]

A peculiar aspect of the problem is that in the acrimonious debates over the status of Indian lands, no one appears to have bothered to bring up the matter of Indian concepts of right in real property.[35] It may be that men like Douglas, Sproat, and others who knew a great deal about the Indians, did not regard this as significant, legally speaking. Yet opponents of the concept of aboriginal right repeatedly stated that the Indians had simply roamed randomly over the land, never claiming particular and specific areas. Ethnographic information has made clear, however, that the coast Indians, at least, had very concrete concepts of land ownership. Tracts, whose limits were defined about as precisely as could be done by people with no knowledge of modern surveying, were very definitely considered as property.[36] Title was held, however, not by individuals but by some corporate entity such as a tribe, a clan, a lineage, or an extended family, depending on the formal political and social organization of the group in question. This title was nominally vested in the chief or headman of the owning unit, but evidence is clear that basically all the members of the particular unit shared in the rights. Accentuating the similarity to European usage was the fact that title was regarded as transferable; land could be alienated. Not only could a sort of coterminous usufruct right be given, but a chief, with the consensus of his group, could give any tract—a habitation

[34] In this section, as well as in the preceding, a great deal of material has been taken from Shankel's MS. (op. cit.); I shall not give references to each and every item so used. Data from published sources are documented by page references.

[35] This is highlighted by the fact that Shankel, who seems to have combed every available official document and newspaper, etc., account bearing on the matter, does not mention it either. The major defect of Shankel's otherwise excellent study is his lack of understanding of the ethnographic materials from the area.

[36] See, for example, Drucker, 1951, pp. 20 ff., 247 ff.

site, a strip of beach and foreshore with all salvage rights thereon, a fishing place, hunting area, berrying or root-digging ground, etc.—to another clan, lineage, etc., who then would have exclusive right to such land. The principal difference between such transfers of title and those customary among whites was that the Indians did not ordinarily make them as sales, that is, in return for wealth goods. They alienated parcels of land most frequently in connection with marriages between important persons of two social units, to cement the bonds between the groups and strengthen both economically and militarily, or for the same basic reasons, on the arrival of some migrating clan or extended family. The frequent formal assertions regarding title to specific lands, made at feasts and potlatches, were the rather precise counterpart by nonliterate people of written and recorded deeds.

Thus, the coast natives were acutely conscious of land ownership, and had been since time immemorial. The groups of the southern Interior—the Interior Salish and Kutenai—if their aboriginal concepts had been less precise, soon came to be land conscious. They turned quite early to animal husbandry, and by the time of confederation, many of these Indians were successful cattlemen with large herds and fine saddle horses. Range cattle in that region require extensive pastures; every inroad on Indian lands by white ranchmen meant that Indian herds suffered. These people soon became most vociferous in demanding that reserves of adequate size be marked off for them.

In addition, it is clear that it did not take the Indians long to become aware of the technical niceties of establishing ownership under British law. Shankel quotes (though he does not develop the point) an item in the newspaper British Colonist (Victoria), of July 3, 1865, concerning the Cowichans, who were still waiting, albeit impatiently, for the payment for the lands they had surrendered some years before, during Douglas' governorship (these were the lands for which they were to have been paid with part of the £3,000 which Douglas requested but never obtained). Apparently there was a great deal of bickering over trespass, by people and by livestock, on the reserves: the paper states that the "Cowichans were refusing to fence their (reserved) lands for fear of weakening their title claims to the unenclosed portions." That this maneuver would have done anything for them before a court is dubious, but it indicates that the Indians were trying to defend themselves through legalistic means.

The pros and cons of the concept of aboriginal land rights as expressed by partisans of the Provincial viewpoint and by those adhering to the Dominion position were argued bitterly in the local press

in the 1870's and 1880's.[37] There is no clear evidence on the point, but there must have been some educated Indians, such as the Tsimshian Alfred Dudoward and his future wife Kate, both residents in Victoria at the time, who thus came to be informed of the varied opinions on Indian land. Lord Dufferin's bitter denunciation of British Columbia Indian policy, made in 1876 when he, as Governor-General of Canada, toured the Province, spelled out the concept of native land right and the need for extinguishing such title through just and legal methods. And finally, the Duncan-Ridley squabble, as has been remarked, came to revolve about a tract of land.[38] In other words, Indian land and land title was so lively an issue, discussed so much and so bitterly, that the Indians must have become acutely aware of it.

Duncan played another role in the land question, this time helping define Provincial policy. Sir James Douglas had previously requested his advice on suitable reserve policy; Duncan had then recommended, among other things, very large reserves, on which entire linguistic divisions should be settled (as opposed to the separate village-by-village reserves of lower Vancouver Island). During one of Duncan's visits to Victoria, he "intervened," to quote the report of the Royal Commission, Provincial authorities perhaps requesting his opinion. They had not become annoyed at him yet; he was regarded as the great authority on "civilizing" the Indians. This time he modified his views. He not only did not stress extent of the reserves, but specified that he considered it unnecessary to have any rule for fixed acreage per capita. (The Dominion had been trying to get the Province to agree to set aside 80 acres for each "average" Indian family of 5.) He brought in a new point, one which has caused difficulties

[37] Wellcome, 1887, reproduces a number of "Letters to the Editors" in a series of appendixes, pp. 431–483.

[38] The origin of the controversy was of course quite different: Bishop Ridley wanted to take charge of the mission and village, and Duncan was not willing to share his authority, let alone take second place. Ridley, as authorized representative of the Church Missionary Society, could and did take possession of the mission buildings: the church, the "mission house," and the mission store which were situated on a special tract in the center of the village. At Duncan's insistence, the Metlakatlans protested the land was theirs, part of their village, and had never been given to the Church Missionary Society. Friends of Ridley in the Provisional government, arranged to cut off this tract of about 2 acres, then give a deed to it to the C. M. S. Although apparently Metlakatla Reserve had been laid off at that time, these people maintained that the only existent land right was that of the British Crown, a right which the Province had authority to administer. Duncan and a delegation of Metlakatlans went to Ottawa, to plead for the intercession of the Dominion Government, but got only unfulfilled promises of support. A Provincial surveyor was sent to survey the tract; the Indians, through obstructionist but nonviolent tactics (presumably designed by Duncan) refused to let him work—they obstructed his line of sight, moved or knocked down his stakes, etc. This went on for months—the surveyor either had an enormous patience or was being paid at a handsome daily rate. Finally Provincial authorities tired of the situation, arrested a number of Indians and threw them in jail in Victoria. This show of force broke the deadlock, and was the direct cause of the removal to Alaska by Duncan and his congregation.

ever since: if a reserve were abandoned, or the Indians decreased in numbers, the abandoned reserve, or in the case of decreasing population, the excess lands, should revert to the Province. This notice that the Province should hold reversionary right to all reserve lands within its borders may have been in the air at the time, but was first expressed as official policy in connection with these Duncan recommendations. From that time on Provincial reversionary right was always claimed, and in 1876, it was conceded by the Dominion Government in the agreement leading to the establishment of the Joint Commission on Indian Lands. This principle of "dual ownership" has complicated sales of excess lands, timber, etc. for the Indians' benefit, ever since (Royal Comm., 1916, vol. 1, p. 17), and is currently blocking the mass enfranchisement of the modern Old Metlakatla community, the legal point, yet unresolved, being in essence: if the entire community becomes enfranchised, and thus ceases to exist as an Indian "band," must the entire reserve, including the village lots on which the people's homes are built, revert to the Province?

In 1887, a delegation of chiefs from the Nass and from Port Simpson went to Victoria "to petition for the return of their lands," and a formal treaty guaranteeing their rights to those lands "forever." Apparently the reserves had just been marked out by surveyors. These were no cringing downtrodden natives—they were proud Northwest Coast chiefs. The tenor of their statements was demanding, not pleading.[39] They got nowhere, of course, though their attitude doubtless ruffled some tempers and caused some anxiety—the Nass was frequently used in those days as a route into the interior (miners going into the Cassiar district went up the Nass, then packed over one of the grease trails from Gitlaxtamks to the Skeena, rather than risk the dangerous Skeena Cañon). My Niska informants were of the opinion that the inspiration for the demands for "return of their lands" had come from the Reverend Mr. Green, the missionary who founded Laxgalt'sap (later Greenville). As they recall statements of their elders, Green told them that "even the reserves were not even theirs, but belonged to the 'Government.'" "They began to hold meetings, then, after the Reverend Mr. Green opened their eyes, to discuss the land problem. Finally they decided to send the chiefs to Victoria, and to invite the Port Simpson people to accompany them." This appears to have been the first step toward the formation of the "Nishga Land Committee."[40] which finally had drawn up the famous "Nishga Petition" that brought the Indian land problem in

[39] Report of conferences between the Provincial Government and Indian delegates from Fort Simpson and Nass River, . . . 3d and 8th Feb., 1887 (Victoria).

[40] This spelling of Niska is used here because it appears thus in various official documents.

the Province to a head. The year 1887 was the same one in which the "Provincial Board of Enquiry into the Conditions of the Indians of the Northwest Coast" (i. e., the north coast of British Columbia) loosed its angry protest against irresponsible stimulation of Indian land claims by missionaries, and, as well, of the missionaries' rousing opposition to the Indian Act and authority of the Indian agents. The Commission specified that Methodist, not Anglican missionaries, were chiefly responsible for such trouble making. Shankel suggests this indicates sectarian bias on the part of the members of the Commission. The fact remains, however, that Laxgalt'sap and Fort Simpson were centers of Methodist missionary effort at that time, and the haughty attitude of the Niska and Tsimshian delegates probably irritated all who heard them.

About this same time the Port Simpson people threatened to follow the example of Duncan's congregation, and move out of Canada to Alaska, if their land situation were not remedied. The value of the threat is hard to assess; many white British Columbians would likely have been delighted to see them go anywhere, as long as they went away. On the other hand, many people were unhappy about the bad publicity resulting from the Metlakatla emigration of 1887. Newspapers in eastern Canada were still editorializing about Provincial treatment of the Indians (especially the Metlakatlans), denouncing it as unjust and brutal. Even in the United States where Indian policy of the day could scarcely be called benevolent, Duncan's partisans were sniping at British Columbia through the press.

For a time nothing was resolved regarding land policy, although the "Joint Commission" (which had been reduced to a committee of one since 1878) apparently continued to study Indian land needs. Provincial surveyors seem to have continued to lay off reserves during this time. Most of the coastal reserves were quite small, including principally villages and campsites, fishing places on streams, graveyards, and the like. The only large area set aside was "Tsimpsean Res. No. 2," divided half and half between the Port Simpson and the Metlakatla bands, which contained in 1916 a total of 44,175 acres, (Royal Comm., 1916, vol. 3, pp. 555, 556, and passim) after sale and surrender of the land for Prince Rupert townsite (both bands have other small tracts also). I have not been able to find out just how or when this tract was made a reserve. Tsimshian informants believe that Duncan was responsible for securing the tract. It is possible that he did so in 1874, at the time he "intervened" with his recommendations of no fixed acreage basis for reserves, and the notion of the Province's reversionary right.

The Indians were by no means appeased. The concern over the question led the Niska to continue their meetings and discussions,

and, apparently in the 1890's (my informants could not recall the exact date), the "Nishga Land Committee" was formed. A Greenville man whose English name was Arthur Calder was said to have been the leader in organizing the group.

Some informants speak of people having been "elected" to the Land Committee, but I gathered that the elections consisted in public recognition of high rank according to ancient standards. Peter Calder, today one of the elderly members of the Greenville community, insisted that the four men of highest rank—four "chiefs"—of each clan, were "elected" to the committee in each village. The village committee elected its own chairman and other officers. There were three village committees, representing Kincolith, Greenville, and Aiyansh— Cañon City (the last-named joined forces because of the small size of the Cañon City village)—and the three together constituted the "Nishga Land Committee."

This organization did more than just meet to discuss their problem. It raised funds (the four representatives of each local clan collected from their clanmates) to send delegations to Victoria and to Ottawa to present their claims, to engage an attorney to advise and represent them, and to draw up petitions and other documents. One man who had himself served on the Land Committee assured me that the group had collected and expended many thousands of dollars over the years in its fight for the lands.

Not long after the Land Committee as a formal entity was organized, the Port Simpson people were invited to join. They refused, however. There were probably a variety of reasons, although Niska informants stress one in particular: that the Tsimshian were claiming lands at the mouth of Portland Canal and at the mouth of the Nass up to a place called in English "Red Bluff," and therefore would not subscribe to the claims of the Land Committee, who insisted that all the lands as far seaward as ketdasx ("Squirrel Water" (?)), a stream across the channel from Port Simpson,[41] were formerly Niska property. Some bitterness seems to have resulted from this conflict regarding claims. There were probably other influential factors also: the Tsimshian had their part of the very large reserve, "Tsimpsean Res. No. 2," and may as well have been afraid of jeopardizing their anticipated claims to compensation for the proposed site of the railhead of the Grand Trunk Railway ("Canadian National"). Port

[41] What this all means is that a good deal of the area concerned was disputed territory anciently. Best evidence, based on clan and tribal traditions, suggests that the Tsimshian claims corresponded reasonably well with the areas principally controlled by them. Kincolith, founded by missionaries Doolan and Tomlinson in 1876, was located on a campsite and fortified position of Chief hai'mas, of the Tsimshian Gitsis tribe. The modern name derives from its ancient one, kng li, "scalp place," because a famous holder of the hai'mas title used to take scalps, not heads, of his enemies, and used to hang them on the bluff just above the modern townsite when he returned from raids.

Simpson itself was seriously considered for a time as a possible site, it is said, and even after the site of modern Prince Rupert was selected and "cut off" from the southern part of "Tsimpsean Reserve No. 2," the Port Simpson people expected a share of the proceeds from the land sale.

At any rate, the Niska went it alone for a number of years in their struggle. The essence of their demands came to be twofold: first, that they should be given 160 acres per capita, "just like white men," and second, that they be given just and reasonable compensation for all lands over and above the amount of the per capita grants which had formerly belonged to them. Neither the Province nor the Dominion had much interest in satisfying these demands.

Meanwhile, in the south, other patterns were developing. In 1906 a Squamish chief and two other Indians were sent as a delegation to England to present their grievance directly to the Crown. Their petition is stated to have included four main points:

1. Their land title had never been properly extinguished, as James Douglas had promised it would be.
2. Whites had settled on their lands, against the Indians' wishes.
3. All appeals to the Canadian Government had been in vain.
4. They not only had no vote, but were not even consulted by the Indian agents on matters of grave concern to themselves.

The delegation accomplished nothing, but their approach was the first of a number of attempts by Indians to bypass Canadian authorities and get relief from the Crown. Shankel states that 3 years later, another delegation, "representing 20 Indian tribes," went to England with a similar petition. He does not indicate who the Indians were; they were not northern coast tribes, I am sure, so must have come from Salish villages of the southern coast and/or interior.

At about this same time a new force developed. This was an organization called "Friends of the Indians," consisting principally of white members of congregations of one of the churches which was supporting considerable missionary work along the coast. The "Friends of the Indians" sought through petitions, financial aid, etc., to aid the Indians to get a just settlement of their land claims.

The year 1910 saw a continuation of the efforts for a settlement. The Niska are stated to have subscribed a fund of several hundred dollars which the Land Committee paid to a lawyer for a legal opinion on their claims, and apparently also as a retainer. A number of Salish groups, and the Friends of the Indians also, sent delegations to wait on Sir Wilfred Laurier during his tour of the Province, to present him petitions requesting justice for the Indians.

Laurier seems to have heard the petitions sympathetically, and is said to have promised his support. (The then head of the Provincial government, Prime Minister McBride, is reported by Shankel to have declared publicly that the Indian land question was of no importance, and was a new issue stirred up by malicious whites to embarrass his administration.)

It will be noted that up to this time it was principally the Niska and certain coast and interior Salish who were most actively concerned about their lands. However, such groups as the Tsimshian, Gitksan, and Haida were becoming increasingly land conscious. It seems to have been about this time, or a very few years earlier, that the large sum paid for the Prince Rupert townsite was assigned by the Indian Department to the Metlakatlans only (since it had all come out of their "south half" of the large Tsimpsean Reserve No. 2). This created a good deal of bitterness among the Port Simpson people, who had expected a share, since not only did they share a part of the reserve (even though theirs was the "northern half") with the Metlakatlans, but, also, certain clans represented better at Simpson than at Metlakatla had aboriginal claims to portions of the tract. What the Port Simpson Indians regarded as the tantalizing loss of a share of the per capita distribution and also loss of a part of what was probably the largest Indian trust fund in the Province up to that time, must certainly have driven home the point of the value of lands. Farther south along the coast, most Kwakiutl groups and the Nootkans remained blissfully unaware of the issue. Even a few years later, during the hearings of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, at which petitions for enlargements of reserves or additional reserves might be presented, these last-named peoples requested principally small tracts; chiefly fishing and trapping campsites, except for a few scattered individual requests for "200 acres for each adult male" (Royal Comm., 1916, vol. 7, pp. 401–415, vol. 3, pp. 881–884). The Athabascans of the northern interior of the Province likewise seem to have been little interested; the Royal Commission's report does not so state, specifically, but suggests that most requests for additional reserves were made by the agents of the Stikine and other northern agencies.

In 1912 two major events took place, which affected, in opposing ways, the outcome of the land problem. One was the drafting of the famous "Nishga Petition" for the Land Committee by an attorney retained for the purpose. This petition requested both lands allotted on a per capita basis to all Niska, and compensation for the remainder of former holdings. The areas claimed as aboriginal lands were the same as those originally claimed by the Nishga Land Committee

and included the disputed tracts on the lower Nass and about the mouth of Portland Canal. This petition was formally adopted by the full Land Committee at Kincolith on January 23, 1913, and transmitted in May or June of that year to the Dominion Government with the request that it be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. This insistence on a hearing before this committee, which, as I understand, functioned as a sort of court of highest appeal for the Empire, confused the land issue for a number of years. It was apparently a refinement of such attempts as that of the Squamish to present their petitions "to the King"; the Indians had at last found out, or had been properly advised, what was the highest ranking judicial body to whom they could appeal. At this time, and many times subsequently, they were advised by legal officers of both Provincial and Dominion agencies that they could not submit a petition directly to the Privy Council; this could only be done through an appeal from the decision of a Canadian court of proper jurisdiction, and with the consent of the Government. The Niska refusal to permit their petition to be brought as a suit before a Federal court or commission, until they were forced to do so, delayed settlement for a long time. The Nishga Land Committee sent delegations to Ottawa to plead for the processing of their petition according to their requests in both 1915 and 1916, but to no avail.

To go back in time briefly, the other signal event of 1912 was the establishment of a "Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in the Province of British Columbia," the body mentioned a number of times in preceding paragraphs.[42] The Provincial Government, in a memorandum of understanding, approved the establishment of this Commission and agreed to be bound by its findings. In the course of three years (1913, 1914, and 1915), this Commission accomplished the tremendous task of visiting every Indian population center in the Province—and transportation was slow and often laborious in those days, both on the coast and in the interior—and of hearing the representations of almost every band that would appear before it. Some groups, the Skidegate Haida, several Gitksan villages, and a few others, refused to discuss their reserves and needs "lest their claims concerning aboriginal rights be jeopardized" (Royal Comm., 1916, vol. 3, p. 726). The Commission tried beyond all question to be fair, although it was manifestly influenced by the presumption that on the coast where the Indians were primarily fishermen and the land was unsuited for agriculture the land requirements of the natives

[42] This Commission, consisting of two members nominated by the Dominion Government, two by the Province, and a chairman nominated by the aforesaid four members, was empowered to hold hearings on Indian land needs, to approve existing reserves, to extend or reduce their boundaries, to create additional reserves as required and as lands were available.

were small. There is no indication that any of the Indians who did request large tracts attempted to justify their requests on the grounds of interest in developing logging projects. The Commission was empowered to recommend that specific tracts be set aside as reserves where lands requested by the Indians (or the Indian agents) were available—that is, not preempted [43] or under timber lease, and did so in numerous cases. Despite the fears of some Indians, the Commission's work had no bearing at all on the problem of aboriginal rights, however. Its findings were based entirely on the Commissioners' concept of current needs.

The next step in the drama was the formation of an organization known as the "Allied Tribes of British Columbia." A number of Interior Salish groups met at Spence's Bridge, B. C., in February 1915, to form an organization for the support of the Nishga Petition, by this time the test case and cause celebre among the Indians of the Province. How much aid and guidance these people had from white friends is mentioned nowhere, but must have been considerable. James Teit, Indian-trader-turned-ethnographer whose reports on the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet form an important section of the AMNH Jesup Expedition series, was the great good friend of the Indians and of the Allied Tribes organization up to his death about 1920. The following year the organization met in Vancouver. Indians from the southern coast were also represented. It was probably at this time that two individuals entered the organization who became major figures in it. Andrew Paull was a young man of Squamish descent, who was quite well educated, and who was, as well, regarded as a leader by his people. Peter R. Kelly, a Haida from Skidegate (living in Nanaimo at that time), had been educated and ordained as a Methodist minister. Both these men were highly sophisticated, in the sense of combining an understanding of the cultures of their ancestors and that of white Canada.

Paull and Kelly resolved to enlist the coast groups in the Allied Tribes' cause. They visited practically every village in the ensuing years, from Aiyansh and Kispiox to Musquiam, preaching the doctrine of the Allied Tribes as the Indian's only hope. They had considerable success. They were even able to arrange for a sort of gentlemen's agreement between the Niska and the Tsimshian of Port Simpson, according to which both groups agreed not to raise the issue of the conflict in their respective claims until the case for aboriginal land right had been successfully resolved. The Port Simpson people became participating members of the Allied Tribes, supporting the organization solidly. The Niska, ever autonomists, did not actually

[43] "Preempting" is a process of acquiring possession and title to land roughly comparable to homesteading in the United States.

join, but continued to support their Land Committee while cooperating with and acknowledging the backing of the larger organization. Even the southern Kwakiutl finally desisted from their potlatching long enough to aline themselves with the Allied Tribes. As one would expect, when financial support was needed, they responded promptly and liberally.

The organization of the Allied Tribes was peculiar in certain respects. Its uppermost echelon was organized in a very formal fashion, its local, grassroots level appears to have been most casually organized, in fact, lacked formal organization altogether. At the top, there was a permanent Executive Committee, which elected its officers, such as chairman, etc., from its own members. Kelly and Paull consistently held key positions, such as the chairmanship, secretaryship, and so on, from the time they became active in the work. The Executive Committee worked closely with the organization's attorneys, planning tactics, making representations to Government officials, etc. On the village level there was no permanent formal organization. Delegates, usually one or two from each community, were elected to attend meetings held in Vancouver and Victoria, and to act as liaison agents between the Executive Committee and the people. There was a tendency in some villages, especially among southern Kwakiutl, to elect ranking chiefs as village delegates, at first. However, it was soon discovered that facility in English and understanding of white Canadian culture and law were also necessary, for the delegates were expected to call local meetings to explain what had gone on at the conventions, and what the problems were. (The business of the conventions was conducted in English, of course, because of the diversity of the native tongues of the delegates.) Sometimes collections were taken up to pay the expenses of delegates to a convention; occasionally delegates paid their own way. Usually, the notices sent out announcing the date of a meeting requested that delegates collect funds, locally, for the organization: to assist the Nishga Land Committee, to pay attorney fees, to pay for travel by members of the Executive Committee, either on organizing trips through the Province or for a trip to Ottawa to confer with Federal authorities, etc. The local delegates called meetings, explained the need for funds, took up collections, and then took the money to the convention. Over the years considerable sums were raised. Included in the organization's final demands on the Government was the sum of $100,000, requested as reimbursement of expenditures over the years in connection with the case. Some of this had been contributed by the Friends of the Indians (Joint Committee (1927), pp. 37, 69–70).

The report of the Joint Committee (1927) gives, in passing, a good deal of detail regarding the history of the organization. At a meeting in 1916, there were 16 entities or "tribes" represented: from the interior, Okanagon, Lake "or Senjetec," "Thompson River at Courteau," Shuswap, Lillooet, Kutenai, Chilcotin, "Tahlton" (Tahltan), and Kasha (Kaska?); from the coast, Nishga, Tsimshian, Kitikshian (Gitksan), Haida, Bella Coola, Cowishan, "Lower Fraser or Stalo" (Joint Committee (1927), pp. 175–176). The inclusion of the Niska may mean that they had sent representatives on this occasion, or that they were regarded as allied with the organization. The list cited above does not name individual representatives. The Niska insist they never really joined the Allied Tribes. In 1922 there was an important meeting of representatives of a larger number of groups: Haida; Tsimshian (the Niska were not represented, nor, on this occasion were the Gitksan); Bella Coola; a number of Southern Kwakiutl communities, including Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, Kingcome Inlet, Cape Mudge, and Campbell River; a series of Coast Salish—Cowichan, Nanaimo, Naimo, Saanich, "Musquean" (Musquiam), Squamish, and "Lower Fraser tribes"; and a considerable number of people, some claiming to represent linguistic divisions and others single reserves, from the interior—the "Lillooet tribes," Fort Douglas, Pemberton, Kamloops, Smilkameen, Nakamip, Penticton, "Okangon tribes," Fairview, Nicola Valley, "Merritt Nicola Valley." Some of these groups from the interior never really affiliated themselves with the Allied Tribes; at this particular meeting they simply agreed to work together for the common goal.

The Executive Committee of the Allied Tribes drafted a number of petitions, memorials, and statements during the life of the organization, which they submitted to Provincial and Dominion officials, Members of Parliament, etc. Many of these petitions were requests to present their claims directly before the Imperial Privy Council, although their general counsel was specifically, even bluntly, told that such procedure was impossible (Joint Committee (1927) pp. x–xi, 61–64). Why the Executive Committee persisted so long and vainly in this attempt is not clear. Either the Indians' attorney did not inform them of these flat refusals to permit them to bypass Canadian courts entirely, or they were remarkably obtuse.[44] What they were trying to get is much the same as if, in the United States, a party to a legal action should try to have the case heard for the first time in

[44] The Nishga Petition was actually presented to the Imperial Privy Council, apparently through a British law firm, and was studied by the Privy Council, who returned it, in 1918, with a letter making clear that if the claim involved the invasion of a legal right, it should be litigated in Canadian courts, then, if need be, appealed in normal fashion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This letter also spells out the procedural steps if the Indians' claim was "a complaint of the executive action of the Provincial or the Dominion Government," rather than a matter of law (Joint Committee (1927), p. 61).

the United States Supreme Court. By their vain persistence, they refused to take advantage of the best opportunity offered them in the history of the land contention for their day in court, with right of appeal to the Privy Council specifically provided for. Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, submitted a proposal in 1914, providing for a hearing of the Indian claims in the Exchequer Court of Canada, with right of appeal to the Privy Council, subject to the following conditions: (1) That the Indians agree that, if the final decision substantiated their claims to the lands of the Province, they would immediately surrender such title in return for such benefits, given by the Dominion, in accordance with established Crown usage in satisfying and extinguishing unsurrendered Indian title. (This was of course a logical and obvious provision to prevent the Indians, if they did turn out to have valid title, from simply evicting all non-Indian British Columbians.) The findings of the Royal Commission as to reserves was also to be accepted by the Indians as part of their compensation. (2) By granting the reserves as finally approved, the Province was to be regarded as having satisfied its obligations to the Indians; other costs would be defrayed by the Dominion. (3) Both the government of British Columbia and the Indians should be represented by counsel, that for the Indians being nominated and paid by the Dominion. (4) In the event of a final decision unfavorable to the Indians, "the policy of the Dominion toward the Indians shall be governed by consideration of their interests and future development."

This proposal was adopted by order in council on June 20, 1914, but the Allied Tribes consistently refused to take advantage of it. They would certainly appear to have been ill-advised. Instead they kept on drafting lengthy petitions. One of these, prepared apparently by Kelly and James Teit, entitled "Statement of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia to the Government of British Columbia," seems to have been the first in which they specified all the demands made on behalf of the Indians.[45] The statement states the objections to the McKenna-McBride agreement of 1912, on which the work of the Royal Commission was based. Then the "statement" goes on to spell out the "necessary conditions of equitable settlement." There are 20 points listed, the most important of which are: recognition of aboriginal land rights of the Indians (with such amendments to the land laws as needed to give those rights legal status); rights to "all foreshores whether tidal or inland";[46] increase of reserves based on a

[45] This document was adopted by the Executive Committee late in 1919, and submitted shortly thereafter. A complete copy appears as an exhibit (appendix A) in Joint Committee (1927), pp. 31–38.

[46] Actually there is no such thing as a foreshore, technically speaking, in nontidal waters; some sort of ownership of the streams or lakes, over and above ordinary riparian rights, was apparently meant.

"standard" of 160 acres per capita ("standard" meant that in lands of poor quality, suitable only for grazing, trapping, etc., larger tracts should be made available), with compulsory purchase, presumably through condemnation proceedings, by the Dominion where tracts desired and needed by the Indians had been legally acquired by whites; beneficial ownership or reserves vested in the "tribe" (apparently the dialectic division, like Niska, Tsimshian, etc., rather than the band or village); procedures for establishing individual ownership within the reserves, administered by the tribe; greater control of trust funds by the band or tribe; free and unrestricted fishing, hunting, and water rights, including modification of such international agreements as interfered with these (such as the Pelagic Sealing Agreement of 1911, the United States-Canadian treaties regulating the Fraser River fisheries);[47] compensation for inequalities in reserve lands, loss of timber, etc.; general compensation for the surrendered portion of the Province through improvements in Indian education, and in Indian health care; removal of restrictions in the Provincial Land Act on preemption of Crown Lands by Indians; and reimbursement of the costs to the Allied Tribes of prosecuting their claims. It will be noted that cash compensation for surrendered lands was not mentioned. That item did not officially enter the picture until 1923, when a similar list of conditions deemed necessary for settlement of the case was presented to Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who met with the Allied Tribes' Executive Committee in Victoria.[48] At that time he was informed that the precise amount of compensation might be a matter for negotiation, but that the thinking of the Indians was that they would be satisfied with a lump-sum payment about equivalent to the total of 20 years' annuities (or "treaty monies") as paid elsewhere in Canada. Scott, in his report, notes that the current Indian population of British Columbia was recorded at 24,744; the average annuity payments elsewhere in Canada were about $5 per capita. A 20-year total ($100 per capita) would thus come to $2,474,400. Bureaucrats and politicians were not so casual about dealing in millions in those days; Scott appears to have been quite shocked by the magnitude of the demand. Two other new demands were added to the list: the right to cut timber outside the reserves, for fuel, canoe-making, and for basketry materials (presumably collecting of spruce root, red cedar bark, etc., is referred to here); and provision of mothers' and widows' pensions comparable to those provided for white women by the Province.

[47] These, of course, are based on the fact that Fraser River salmon pass through United States water, offshore, before they reach the Fraser, hence various regulations regarding them are based on international agreement.

[48] Joint Committee (1927). Scott, who testified at the hearing, filed his complete memorandum report on this meeting to his superior as part of the record, where it forms appendix H, pp. 65–71.

At this time, the McKenna-McBride agreement had already been adopted by both governments, and despite Indian protests, the Govment of British Columbia adopted the report of the Royal Commission on the reserves the same year as the meeting with Scott, mentioned above. This meant of course that the Province agreed to make available lands for all additions to reserves, and additional reserves (and to accept all cutoffs), recommended by the Royal Commission. The Indians had been objecting bitterly since 1916 that though the additions approved by the Commission were roughly twice the sum in acreage than the cutoffs, they were greatly inferior in value, although the Commission's report very specifically states in each case that the reverse is true so far as values are concerned. Whether the Indians liked it or not, they were unable to prevent the final step from being taken. In 1924, by means of an order in council, the Dominion Government adopted the report. The reserves consequently were of the size, and where, the Royal Commission had decided they should be. The areas and distribution of reserves have remained essentially the same to the present time, except for comparatively minor changes from land sales, and the like.

The final development came about when, in 1926, the chairman of the Allied Tribes submitted a petition to Parliament requesting, among other things, the hearing of the Indian case by H. M. Privy Council. Parliament, however, established a Joint Committee, consisting of a committee from the Senate and one from the House of Commons, authorized to hold hearings and to make recommendations to Parliament which would bring the problem to an end. Presumably this action was taken as the only way to arrive at a solution, since the Indians persisted in their refusal to bring their claims before a Canadian court, even with right of appeal, as provided in the Scott memorandum. The Joint Committee held hearings in Ottawa on March 30 and 31, and April 4, 5, and 6, 1927. Kelly, Paull, and their attorneys were heard, and some interior Indians, as were various officers of the Indian Department, and the Department of Marine and Fisheries. The minutes of evidence make interesting reading. At one point, a diversion was created by some interior Indians, who, with a separate set of attorneys had got into the act uninvited. They contradicted the statement that the Allied Tribes represented all the Indians of British Columbia, and presented a list of complaints completely different from those of the Allied Tribes.[49] If this byplay influenced the thinking of the committee, it can only have been unfavorably. Kelly and Paull made their

[49] Joint Committee (1927), pp. 73 ff. One of the representatives and many of the groups said to be represented were interior Indians who had been present at the 1922 Allied Tribes meeting and had agreed to cooperate with the Allied Tribes.

statements and replied to queries in a straightforward concise fashion that indicated a background of study of the facts and thorough knowledge of them that impressed the committee and won their favorable comment; their general counsel unfortunately antagonized the committee, who nonetheless tried to arrive at a just decision.

The principal findings of the committee were that there was no real basis in fact to the claims of aboriginal right in British Columbia; and that, while no compensation was required to extinguish title, it was true that they received no annuities as other Canadian Indians did. Hence, it was recommended that $100,000 per annum, over and above normal appropriations for education, medical care, etc. in British Columbia be provided the Indian Department (the committee found that on a per capita basis approximately the same amount was spent on education, health, welfare, etc. for British Columbia Indians as on those of other Provinces), in lieu of "treaty monies." The explicitly stated idea was that this special fund, used for the benefit of all the Indians of the Province, would accomplish more than the $5 dollars or so per capita distribution in the form of annuities. Another recommendation, unemphasized in the committee's report, but powerfully implemented by Parliment, was that the natives be advised that no further contributions of funds be made to continue presentation of claims now decisively disallowed. Other recommendations called for closer cooperation between the Indian Department and the Department of Marine and Fisheries, with the aim that a liberal interpretation of fisheries regulations be adopted, insofar as Indians fishing for domestic consumption were concerned; suitable working agreements with the Provincial government and the Department of Indian Affairs regarding Indian water rights; Indian rights in the foreshore; and so on. The report of the Joint Committee was approved by both Houses, and legislation was passed to carry its recommendations into effect. The $100,000 "In lieu of annuities" is still appropriated annually. Coast Indians complain that most of it goes for agricultural education and irrigation in the southern interior; the fact is that nowadays it is a drop in the bucket in comparison with departmental expenditures for education, health, and welfare in the Province. The action taken on the recommendation to stop further fund raising to continue the case put the real stopper on the campaign for recognition of aboriginal rights: an amendment was made to the Indian Act making it a serious offense to solicit funds for the purpose of prosecuting an Indian claim against the Government (Indian Act, sec. 141, Joint Comm. (1927)).

With the appearance of the Joint Committee's report and its approval and implementation by Parliament, the Allied Tribes organization, never closely knit at best, fell apart. Most coast Indians, at

least, accepted, albeit unwillingly and grudgingly, that the land issue was dead as the proverbial doornail. Only the Niska refused to give up entirely. Their Land Committee continued to meet for years, to thresh out the hopeless questions of ways and means to establish their claims. A Land Committee member with whom I discussed the history of the case in 1953 did admit, however, that the committee had been rather inactive for a number of years.

A summary of the legal bases of the claims is relevant here only as sources of ideas may be revealed. The "aboriginal rights" concept itself, the very heart of the long struggle, was almost certainly not derived from Indian sources. While it was true enough that the coastal groups had clearly defined aboriginal concepts regarding ownership of lands, this meant nothing under Canadian law *unless it could be demonstrated that such right had been recognized and provided for in the organic legislation regarding land law.* The claim for aboriginal rights was based on three documents. The first, chronologically, was a proclamation of George III, 1763, regarding the four "governments, styled Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada," to the effect that "the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories, as not having been ceded to us, are reserved to them, or any of them as their hunting grounds . . ." (Joint Committee (1927) pp. 40–42). (The proclamation goes on to restrict purchases of land, and trade, with the Indians, to duly constituted authorities, etc.) The second was an article in the British North America Act, which laid down the provisions for confederation of the eastern provinces, and which governed the confederation of British Columbia to Canada, except where superseded by the Terms of the Union. The article referred to, No. 109, provides that all lands belonging to the Province shall belong to the Province "subject to any trust existing in respect thereof, and to any interest, other than that of the province, in the same" (Joint Committee (1927), pp. 43 and passim). The third was an opinion of the Dominion Minister of Justice, in 1875, recommending "disallowance" (veto) by the Governor General of Canada of an act passed by the Legislature of British Columbia "to amend and consolidate the laws affecting Crown lands in British Columbia." The opinion, approved by the Governor General, was based on the fact that the proposed act made no provision for Indian reserves to prevent them from being preempted. (The opinion, as stated, was approved; the proposed legislation was revised by the legislature of the new Province to provide that settlers could not preempt lands within the boundaries of Indian reserves.)

The whole structure of the claim of aboriginal rights—the concept, the years of effort, the thousands of dollars spent, the time and labor

of various persons—was based on the interpretation of these passages, all of doubtful applicability or validity. The Royal Proclamation did not refer to British Columbia, which was terra incognita at the time (moreover, the proclamation was subsequently repealed by another). Article 109 of the British North America Act nowhere specifies that Indian title was meant to be included in its provisions for "trusts and interests" prior to those of the Province. The much-quoted opinion of the Minister of Justice first of all was concerned primarily with guaranteeing reserves; second, it was not itself law, but merely an opinion.

The point of this discussion is to stress the fact that the whole basis of the claim was highly legalistic, depending on fine interpretations of meaning and intent of law. It can only have been introduced by persons with some legal training—something no British Columbia Indian of that day had. It is also clear that under the law the Indians had far from a strong case. This must have been highly obvious to any legally trained person.

The inclusion of requests for special concessions concerning fishing and hunting rights probably differed in its source. It seems to have derived from the fact that more and more restrictions and regulations were being put on these activities, for conservation purposes, and also, in connection with hunting for reasons of public safety (restricting hunting in settled areas, etc.). Indians, sometimes not understanding the regulations, and at other times disregarding them, were at this period continually running afoul of the law, and being fined or jailed. These demands may represent some real grassroots sentiment, and perhaps the only sentiment so originating in the whole program, that was brought to the attention of the Executive Committee during its members' recruiting tours.

In short, it appears that most of the long campaign to resolve the land problem was inspired by and manipulated by whites, and it was handled according to white techniques.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

The somewhat lengthy foregoing section on the administrative background and the history of the Nishga Land Committee and the Allied Tribes makes evident that the coastal Indians of British Columbia learned quite early in the period of close white contacts and of intensive acculturation to form organizations patterned on white models to try to defend themselves against what they came to regard as undue pressure from the white population. Most of the patterns utilized such nonaboriginal traits as elections for selection of officers and delegates, the committee system (both the institution and the English name), which the Indians had learned from their missionaries. It

will be recalled that most missionaries, following Duncan's lead, set up local (village) governments with elective officers, and in some cases committees (water committee, road committees, etc.). Also, in the secular parts of church organization, such as the Church Army, etc., officers were elected to various positions, and many functions were carried on by committees. This, together with the direct influence of early missionaries, explains why intervillage and even intertribal organizations began earlier in British Columbia than they did in Alaska. To anticipate a bit, there was an additional type of organization—the trade union—in which the coast Indians became interested quite early, which also taught them both organizational procedures and advantages.

Unquestionably various northern Indians, particularly Haida and Tsimshian, learned something of the Alaska Native Brotherhood on visits to Alaska in the early 1920's. Travel back and forth across the International Boundary by local residents was not hampered by many restrictions in those days. Canadian and Alaskan Haida visited back and forth frequently, especially after they began to acquire fair-sized gas boats that could be counted on to negotiate Dixon Entrance safely. Some Alaskan Haida and Tlingit made trips to the Nass, to buy olachon grease, and a few Niska and Tsimshian carried on quite a business by taking grease to the Alaskan villages for sale. However, with the Allied Tribes campaign running full blast, pretty certainly approaching a climax, the Canadian Indians were too much concerned with their own organization to develop much interest in the A. N. B.

After the collapse of the land claims few Indians gave much thought to other than immediate and personal problems. One of the few who did was a Haida, from Masset, named Alfred Adams. Adams had been a leader in his community for many years, and is said by his people to have accomplished a great deal in their behalf. All who knew him well agree on the source of his interest in organizing the Indians: He is known to have attended at least two conventions of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (at Hydaburg and Klawock) while visiting Alaskan relatives, and was greatly impressed by that organization.

The 1929 stock-market crash and ensuing depression hit the salmon industry very hard, and, as Jamieson and Gladstone (1950, pp. 10, 161) show, was almost devastating in its effect on the fishermen. As those authors demonstrate, through the late 1920's there had been a pronounced trend toward acquisition of better and more efficient fishing craft by individual fishermen. Sailboats and small underpowered (gasoline engine) vessels were being replaced by large adequately powered boats. In accordance with the usage developed in the salmon industry, most such equipment was purchased with funds advanced by the packing companies, hence many fishermen were heavily in debt.

In addition, according to several northern informants, there had been a number of abortive, poorly organized fishermen's strikes, in which the Indians (as often happened in the early days) were left holding the bag—white and Japanese fishermen breaking the strike and making big catches while the Indian boats were still tied up. Although nothing in the original plans of the Native Brotherhood provided for its activities as a trade union, or for any specific steps to better the Indians' economic positions, a number of informants believe that conditions of the day contributed to the enthusiasm with which the idea of establishing the organization was received.

According to the accounts related, Adams discussed the desirability of forming an intertribal organization similar to the Alaska Native Brotherhood with a number of people, and particularly with a number of Tsimshian, who were trolling off North Island in the summer of 1931, and who were recognized leaders of the Port Simpson community. These included men like Ambrose Reid, Rufus Dudoward, and William Beynon. It was decided that Adams should send a letter to Chief Ernest Dudoward at Port Simpson suggesting a meeting there with Port Simpson people, representatives from Masset, and from all other northern villages who wished to attend. Ernest Dudoward, on receipt of the letter, and presumably after additional information from his brother Rufus, called a meeting of the tribal chiefs at Port Simpson.[50] The idea was approved, and it was resolved a public meeting should be held at which the matter would be "revealed," as one informant put it, to the Port Simpson people. The Salvation Army hall served as the public meeting place. Apparently the villagers acepted the idea with some enthusiasm. Invitations were sent to other northern villages, asking them to send delegations in mid-December. Meanwhile, Adams easily convinced the Masset people of the value of forming an organization similar to the one in Alaska.

On the 13th of December 1931 (according to the journal of events kept by William Mathews, of Masset, who was good enough to place his record at my disposal), the Masset delegation arrived at Port Simpson. Representatives from four other villages—Hartley Bay, Kitkatla, Port Essington, and Metlakatla (B. C.)—were there or arrived in the next day or two. These people, and those of Masset and Port Simpson, met daily for about a week. The first formal meeting of the representatives of the six communities was held on December 15. Apparently, from a set of minutes of that meeting, most of the first day

[50] Ernest was ranking chief of the Gitändo. It was stated specifically, and repeated, that "a secret meeting of the chiefs," *not* a council meeting, was called, an interesting commentary, if correct, on the importance of the chiefs in community affairs at the time. Ernest Dudoward was chief councilor (an elective post) then and a number of other chiefs were simultaneously councilors.

was devoted to speeches by the various delegates, including a long address by Alfred Adams on the need for unity among the Indians. A chairman and a secretary for the Conference were also elected. The following day a formal motion to organize was made but tabled. A petition which had been drafted at Port Simpson the previous spring for submission to the Minister of the Interior (who at that time was the officer in charge of the Department of Indian Affairs) was discussed item by item and approved by the Conference "as representative of our grievances." The Port Simpson petition included the following: requests for the establishment of a vocational school for Indian children from the northern coast of the Province; modification of hunting and trapping laws to give Indians more freedom in these pursuits; permission for Indians to fish for domestic consumption without permits; permission to cut timber for firewood, canoe making, etc., off the reserves; provision for free medicine and free medical care; and finally the privilege of a conference with the Minister on additional problems. In addition to approving these requests, the conference added four resolutions of the same general tenor. It may be noted that these requests resemble and in some cases duplicate the demands made by the Allied Tribes in 1926. On the following 2 days of the conference a resolution was adopted that the groups represented would organize permanently as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. A brief constitution was also drafted and adopted by the convention. This document covered the necessary provisions specifying the purpose and aim of the organization, the fact that annual conventions were to be held, that local branches were to be established and should be represented by delegates at conventions, and providing for the elective officers and their duties. A membership fee of 50 cents per year was also specified in the constitution.

After the convention the delegates from outlying villages went home to advise their tribesmen of the accomplishments of the convention and to organize local branches. Presumably, some attempts were made to interest Indians from other communities, but the second convention, held in Port Simpson also, was formed of the same villages as in the first year with only one addition, Vanarsdale. From this time on, however, quite active proselytizing was begun by leaders in the organization. Two men who were very active in this regard were Chief Heber Clifton of Hartley Bay and Chief Edward Gamble of Kitkatla. These two men were both of very high rank in the traditional native system. They were, as well, persuasive and forceful leaders in their own communities, and were active in church affairs. Their influence on the northern coast was extremely great. Not only did they take an active part in visiting other communities to persuade the people to join the Brotherhood, but they went to consider-

able personal expense to assist these ventures. Clifton, for example, put his seine boat at the disposal of the officers of the Brotherhood on numerous lengthy proselytizing trips. By the year 1936 a list of branches and their reported membership included eight additional communities: Klemtu, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Kitimat, Kispiyox, Kitwanga, Skeena Crossing, and Hazelton. A list of reported membership of the 14 active branches totals 474 men (it should be noted that there were 14, rather than 15 active branches at this time because, although Metlakatla is listed, the branch there had become completely inactive).

It is obvious that the Tsimshian and their closer relatives dominated the organization in numbers during these early years. In addition, until the late 1930's the conventions were held annually at Port Simpson. That village was, of course, the largest in terms of population on that part of the coast. Although all the villagers were not active members of the Brotherhood, they all gave strong support to the organization and contributed generously to the provisions required for the conventions. It is for this reason that many Port Simpson people today regard the Native Brotherhood as their organization. Although Alfred Adams was elected president at the second or third convention and reelected annually until his death in 1944, most of the leaders in the group were Port Simpson men and their close kinsmen, like Clifton and Gamble.

For the first few years of the Brotherhood's history, its principal activities consisted in recruiting membership, discussing Indian problems at the annual conventions, and drafting various petitions generally similar to the Port Simpson petition endorsed in 1931 and the additions made by that meeting. It was apparently not until the late 1930's, however, that any attempts were made to interest the Indians south of Bella Bella. In 1938, Adams, Clifton, and some others of the organization's leaders made an extensive tour of the southern Kwakiutl villages. They were received in a most friendly fashion because Adams was well known to those people. Years before he had brought Masset fishermen to Rivers Inlet for several seasons. Because of his manner and his status as a lay minister, the Kwakiutl came to have considerable respect for him. They had, however, no particular interest in the Brotherhood at this period. In 1936, after the disastrous strike at Rivers Inlet in which the Indians felt that they had been duped by unionized white fishermen, the Kwakiutl-speaking groups formed an organization of their own called the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association. The association, which was primarily a trade union, was functioning in a highly successful fashion. Consequently, these people listened to Adams and his associates courteously and expressed their approval of the goals of the Brother-

hood, but made no move to affiliate themselves with it. It was not until 1942 that the Brotherhood was able to include them on its membership rolls.

The Brotherhood's 1942 expansion was due to a very special circumstance. In that war year Indian commercial fishermen were for the first time made subject to the Canadian income tax law. The Indians were highly incensed about this. They had always been exempt from taxes before, and, in addition, they considered it highly discriminatory that the Indian fisherman who made his catches off the Reserve should be taxed, whereas the Indian farmer, cattleman, or logger of the interior, who grew his produce or cut timber on reserve lands continued to be tax-free. Meetings were held all over the coast to discuss what should be done. Andrew Paull, the same man who had been active in the Allied Tribes case, undertook to get the united support of the coastal Indians to protest extension of the income tax law. He and a man from Cape Mudge attended the Brotherhood convention which was held that fall at Skeena Crossing. The convention seems to have approved his plans and agreed to back him solidly. He next visited Alert Bay where he met with a number of the leaders in the P. C. N. F. A. At his suggestion they resolved to call a mass meeting. Apparently they had been considering the problem, but were at a loss as to how to proceed. From descriptions of the meeting, it appears that Paull outlined his ideas and when it was clear that approval was general, almost singlehandedly, in his role of chairman, transformed the P. C. N. F. A. into a branch of the Brotherhood. He seems to have accomplished this through a sense of rapid and adept parliamentary maneuvers, requesting appropriate motions and gaveling them through. At the same time it is certain that the Kwakiutl saw the advantage of joining the northern groups to achieve a common aim.

At the Skeena Crossing convention, Paull had been designated as "business agent" of the Brotherhood, although with no precise definition of the rights and duties of that office. Following the meeting at Alert Bay, he visited some coast Salish villages and some of the communities on the west coast of Vancouver Island. He organized branches of the Brotherhood in these communities as well. With the dues paid by the new members, he opened a small office for the organization in Vancouver. The following year at the convention some of the northern delegates challenged Paull with having exceeded his authority by opening the office in Vancouver and by paying himself a very modest salary from part of the dues paid by the new branches he had organized. The grounds were that the convention had not authorized him to do these things. He was aggressively supported by the Kwakiutl, however. At least one speaker from that group

announced that if only measures formally approved in the convention were legal, the entire Kwakiutl district would have to drop out of the organization, since it had joined between conventions, without any specific authorization by a convention. This put a stop to the entire discussion. The Brotherhood treasury was, as usual, bare. They were planning to send a delegation to Ottawa to present a petition and to confer with Federal officials on the tax problem and were depending on funds from the Kwakiutl to do this. The former P. C. N. F. A. treasury, which contained a considerable balance, was to be made available to the Brotherhood. They realized, of course, that if the Kwakiutl dropped out of the organization, they would take these funds with them. This incident was the first clear sign of the change to control of the organization by southern coast Indians.

The two events just described, the merger of the Native Brotherhood and the P. C. N. F. A. and the establishment of a business office in Vancouver, changed the character of the organization considerably. It immediately became more active as a bargaining agency, speaking as it now did for a larger number of fishermen. It was able to operate on about the same level as the white fishermen's union which at the time had not attained its maximum strength. A detailed description of the Brotherhood's activities as a trade union is given elsewhere, along with an account of its relations with the white union. It may be said here that the Brotherhood has managed to hold its place in the field of collective bargaining, although losing ground to the union in recent years. One factor contributing to the Brotherhood's growing strength at this period seems to have been that the canning companies realized that the Native Brotherhood's attitude in bargaining was characteristically a conservative one which acted as a stabilizing force in the industry, opposing the extremely aggressive white union; hence the industry gave the Indian organization recognition quite willingly.

At this same period, organizational activities were expanded greatly. In part this was the result of the increased resources which enabled the organization to pay the expense of parties of organizers who visited nonmember communities, both on the coast and in the interior. For example, it was about at this period that the Niska, or at least most of them, were brought in. A number of the progressive leaders on the Nass had been interested in the Brotherhood movement for some time, but it is said that the majority of the people still clung to the vain hope of getting something done through their Land Committee. It is quite likely, too, that the unsettled disagreement with the Port Simpson people regarding land claims made the Niska reluctant for a time to take part in an organization which was regarded as

having had its origin in Port Simpson. In 1942 or 1943, however, a big meeting was arranged at Greenville at which time a Brotherhood delegation described the aims of their organization to the Niska. One of the first questions that arose concerned the position of the Native Brotherhood with regard to Indian land claims. The delegation managed to evade the issue although most Niska still believe that the Brotherhood will eventually take up the cudgels for the old battle of Indian land rights. In any case, two branches were established on the Nass at this time, one at Greenville and the other at Kincolith. In addition, a large number of Aiyanish and Cañon City men joined the organization although no formal branches were organized in those towns. As I understand, a group of elderly conservatives on the Aiyansh Council blocked the setting up of a branch there. Cañon City is, of course, such a small community that it could not establish a branch by itself. It has already been remarked that Andrew Paull began organizing in the Salish communities of the Gulf of Georgia and in the Nootka villages of Vancouver Island. He was quite well known to these people and had a great deal of influence among them. When he broke away from the organization, the influence of the Brotherhood in the Salish and Nootka villages was considerably weakened. In addition, there was a policy conflict deriving from the Brotherhood's stand on schools (to be discussed elsewhere) which also weakened the organization's strength. Other groups of organizers traveled during the next few years up the Skeena River and up the Fraser River. They succeeded in interesting a few of the interior Indians and the Brotherhood has, or at least claims, a considerable number of branches in the interior. The differences in interest between people of the interior and people of the coast, and, as well, the differences in level of acculturation, have prevented the organization from building up the same sort of interest in these places that it did on the coast. Furthermore, the school policy conflict arose here as it did among the Salish and Nootka. Despite all these difficulties, however, during the early 1940's the organization came to be strongly represented over the entire coast from Cape Mudge north and in most of the Gitksan villages up the Skeena and had a sizable, if somewhat scattered, membership in the interior.

An important step was taken in 1945 when the organization had its constitution revised to conform to the requirements of the Province's Societies Act, and subsequently was incorporated under this act. The effect of this move was to establish it as a legally chartered organization with specified rights and obligations. The avowed purpose of incorporation was to contribute to the recognition of the Brotherhood by industry and the Government officials. It may be

interpreted as a part of the policy of attaining goals through developing good public relations.

During and following World War II there was a very strong trend in Canada toward the modification of general Indian policy in a more liberal direction. In part it seems to have stemmed from recognition of the fact that while some groups of Canadian Indians in the remoter parts of the nation were still quite backward, there were also numerous Canadian Indians who were most progressive and, though they were not assimilating with the white population, were able to hold their own economically. Furthermore, the limitations of the prewar educational programs were becoming apparent. More funds were made available to the Indian Department for work in the field of education. An important indication of the new Government attitude was given when it was resolved to revise the Indian Act to bring it in line with modern conditions. A couple of decades have passed since such a general overhauling of Canadian Indian law had been undertaken. The parliamentary committee appointed to study this problem, in addition to calling in Government officials as witnesses, brought in Indians from all over the country. They selected most of the Indian witnesses on a geographical basis. However, the Native Brotherhood, since it was considered to represent a large segment of the British Columbia Indian population, was requested to send representatives. This formal and high-level recognition has done a great deal to enhance the prestige of the organization. In all fairness it must be added that the Brotherhood representatives at the hearings consistently presented well-considered and well-justified recommendations. The draft of the revised act proposed after the committee's studies, presented to Parliament in 1950 under the provisional title of Bill 267, actually did not incorporate many of the recommendations made at the various conferences. This produced widespread objections among the Indians. The Brotherhood was particularly forceful in its protest. As a result the vote upon the bill was deferred and another conference was called to consider changes. The Brotherhood Executive drafted a lengthy set of proposals listing item by item the points which they considered unsatisfactory. Other Indian groups all over the country submitted similar presentations. At a conference in Ottwa in 1951 at which the Brotherhood and other Indian groups were once more represented, a number of major revisions were made in the proposed legislation. A great many of the changes specifically incorporated the recommendations in the Brotherhood petition. This bill, passed the same year, is in general much more satisfactory to the Indians and is regarded by many people in British Columbia, at least, as representing a major achievement of the Native Brotherhood.

In addition to a considerable change in Dominion Indian policy, British Columbia policy toward the Indians has been greatly modified, as previously stated. Several legal steps were taken which demonstrated this most clearly. The most important of these was the giving in 1947 of the Provincial franchise. This appears to have come about through widespread public sentiment in favor of such a move at a time when legislation originally intended to enfranchise certain oriental groups such as East Indians and Chinese was being considered. A great many people considered that such legislation, as it did not include the Indian population, would be manifestly unjust. Certain longtime friends of the natives, such as Mrs. Armitage-Moore, owner of "The Native Voice," assisted by the Brotherhood business agent, Guy Williams, and others, got some excellent publicity for the Indian position in the Vancouver newspapers. The public sentiment thus created forced the Provincial government to include the natives in the new law.

FORMAL STRUCTURE

The original structure of the Native Brotherhood as provided for in the 1931 constitution was fairly obviously modeled on that of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. It was, however, simpler in a number of respects. As in the northern organization there was provision for a series of officers, and for an Executive Committee. The officers were to be elected at an annual convention. Between conventions they and the Executive Committee were to carry on the work of the association. The Executive Committee consisted of two representatives from each village belonging to the organization. Presumably, although it is not spelled out in the constitution, these were the delegates sent to the conventions. There were to be local units, called "branches" (rather than "camps," as in Alaska), established in the native villages, but there were no specific statements as to just how they were to be organized. From various informants it appears that each branch elected a set of officers: president, vice president, secretary, treasurer. As long as the organization was confined to the northern coast, of course, where the Indians had had many years of experience with elective councils and with formally organized clubs, etc., there appeared to be no need to spell out these details regarding rules for local units. The branches had no regular schedule of meetings.

The modern organizational structure, as defined in the 1945 constitution under which the Brotherhood was incorporated under the Societies Act, is changed in various ways. There are a president, a secretary, and a treasurer. A new officer is the chairman of the legislative committee. This post was apparently created for the

Reverend P. R. Kelly because of the fact that his people at Skidegate were not participating actively in the Brotherhood. Another change is the creation of a different kind of vice president. Under the new constitution a vice president is elected from each of the several geographic districts, at the time the document was drafted. These vice presidents are much more important figures in the new setup. Each is supposed to be responsible for the branches within his district. He is expected to see that the units operate effectively, to organize new ones in nearby villages in which no branches have been established, and to keep the whole district active and informed in matters of Brotherhood concern. These officers—the president, secretary, treasurer, legislative committee chairman, and all the vice presidents—jointly constitute the Executive Committee. As such, they are authorized to act for the whole organization when the annual convention is not in session. Customarily they, with the business agent, act as a negotiating body in setting prices for fish, and wages for cannery workers, in conferences with representatives of the canning industry. The constitution also specifically provides for the appointment of one or more business agents by the Executive Committee. The business agent or agents are salaried, maintain an office in which the records of the Brotherhood are kept, and customarily participate in the price and wage negotiations. It has become customary in recent years to combine the elective office of treasurer with the appointive one of business agent.

The organization has had a business agent in Vancouver ever since Andrew Paull first opened the office there, as previously related. He severed his connection with the Brotherhood a very few years later owing to disagreements with the Executive Committee, but his place was filled quite promptly. His successor was Guy Williams of Kitimat. Williams served quite successfully for several years. He was succeeded by Ed Nahaney of North Vancouver, a man who had had many years of experience with trade unionism during his career as a longshoreman in Vancouver, but who was, at least at first, completely unfamiliar with the fishing industry.

About 1948 or 1949 there was considerable pressure from people of the northern coast for an office to be opened in Prince Rupert and a business agent appointed for the north. There were a number of practical reasons for this. The business agent had come to be a sort of troubleshooter, ironing out minor difficulties encountered at individual canneries. However, it was impossible for the principal business agent in Vancouver to make frequent visits to canneries on the Skeena and Nass and as well take care of his many responsibilities in the south. In addition, there was the feeling that there were somewhat different problems on the north coast. The dates of the

fishing seasons differed, and for various reasons the people felt that they needed a man with local knowledge and experience. At this time, however, the Brotherhood treasury could not stand the strain of supporting two offices, or at least so the Executive Committee believed. They did authorize the opening of an office and the hiring of a business agent subject to support of the office and agent by the northern branches. This move had the effect of emphasizing the differences of interest between the two sections of the coast. An office was opened in Prince Rupert and maintained for about 4 years. For the first couple of years it was in the charge of a man who operated it very successfully. The small salary that the people were able to pay, however, made it economically difficult for him to continue in office. His successor did not do as well and within a couple of years the northern people refused to support it any longer. It seems probable that this closing of the northern office and a return to dependence on the Vancouver office prevented a fission of the northern and southern segments of the Brotherhood.

It has been mentioned that in 1945 there were eight geographic districts. They were as follows: The northern coast; the northern interior, which consisted principally of a few Gitksan villages; the central coast, including the villages from Kitimat and Klemtu as far south as Smith's Inlet; the Alert Bay district, comprising all the southern Kwakiutl villages except Cape Mudge; the southern coast district which included Cape Mudge and the Salish villages on the Gulf of Georgia; the River Fraser district; and two districts on the west coast of Vancouver Island called the south West Coast district, and the northwest coast district, respectively. Some time between 1948 and 1950, primarily at the insistence of Vice President Bolton of Port Essington, the north West Coast district was divided into three: A Nass district, a Skeena district, and a Queen Charlotte Islands district. Bolton's reasons for urging this change were twofold. In the first place the area was so large and there were so many transportation problems that he felt himself quite unable to cover it adequately, visiting all its branches. Secondly, he felt that for the size of the Indian population in the old district, there was not adequate representation on the Executive Committee, as compared to districts in the south. Bolton was also primarily responsible for organizing a new district in the interior, in the Burns Lake region. During about that same period the Vancouver business agent and members of the Executive Committee organized two new districts in the southern interior. All of these interior districts, however, are apparently more impressive on paper than in actuality. Only a relatively small proportion of the interior Indians seemed to feel that they have any stake in the goals of the Brotherhood.

The representation of the various districts by their respective

vice presidents is by no means a grassroots matter. The vice presidents are elected by the delegates present at the annual convention rather than by the rank and file of all the branches within their districts. There has been some feeling developing against this system. I heard expressions of displeasure over it from a number of informants during the period of my fieldwork. It was very definitely felt by many that the apathy in a number of communities toward Brotherhood activities was due to the fact that the vice president of the particular district made no attempt to keep interest at high pitch. A number of the vice presidents are now elderly men who have been active in the organization for a good many years. They are no longer able to undertake all the travel that is really necessary for them to do, either during the fishing season to visit many camps and canneries, or during the winter to visit the various villages. In 1954 an amendment to the constitution which would provide for rank-and-file election of each district vice president was to be proposed at the annual convention. To be thoroughly practical such a measure would have to provide means for coping with a number of communication difficulties between remote villages in every district. However, with the modern installation of radio-telephones in the communities, and on many fishing boats as well, such problems could be overcome.

In addition to the elective officers of the organization, provision has been made for the delegation of a certain number of honorary officers. Men like Chief Heber Clifton and the late Chief Edward Gamble who were instrumental in establishing and maintaining the Brotherhood for many years, but who did not seek elected offices in it, were given honorary titles.

In its early years the Brotherhood held its annual convention in the late fall. This may not have necessarily been in direct imitation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, for it was a convenient time for the northern people. Since the entry of southern groups in the organization, however, owing to the late fall fishing in Johnstone Straits it has become necessary to hold the convention in the early spring, usually about March. Each branch, consisting of 20 or more members "in good standing" (who had paid their dues), is entitled to send two delegates to the convention, each of whom has one vote. Formerly proxies were permitted in cases where a branch was able to send only one delegate or no delegates at all. This usage, however, was barred after a convention at which a Nootka delegate appeared with proxies from practically all the dozen or so Nootka branches. While members of the Executive Committee have their expenses to conventions paid by the organization treasury, each branch must arrange to provide the expenses of the delegates or else the delegates themselves have to pay them. What with the considerable distances involved and the high cost of travel on the coast, many branches have

been unable to raise sufficient funds to send representatives to conventions in recent years. Kincolith, for example, has elected delegates annually but has not been able to send them to any convention for 3 years or more. In fact, it was reported by some informants that there has not been a real quorum, that is, an actual representation of 50 percent of the branches, at any convention held during the past several years. This has meant that there have been no changes in the personnel of the Executive Committee. No new blood has been added.

As was stated, originally the form of the organization of the local units was not specified. In the new constitution it is spelled out in some detail, as it is in the charter issued by the parent body to a new branch. There should be a minimum of 20 members from among whom the usual set of officers—president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer—are elected who, with five additional members, form an Executive Committee. A branch is required to have but one annual meeting, at which time delegates to the annual convention are elected. Actually, of course, meetings are frequently held during the period of price negotiations. The negotiators in Vancouver, telephonically or telegraphically, advise the branches as to progress and get information as to approval or disapproval of the offers being made. Normally, interest runs high at these times, since, after all, the livelihood of the members is concerned. At other seasons interest is at low ebb nowadays.

THE NATIVE SISTERHOOD

Informants speak casually of the Native Sisterhood as if it were a unified intervillage organization under a centralized group of officers like the Alaska Native Sisterhood. It took me some little while to discover that this is not the case. Actually each village on the coast which has a Native Brotherhood Branch has a Sisterhood organization which is simply a women's auxiliary of the local branch. That is to say, each Sisterhood holds meetings and raises funds to assist the local men's unit, or, if an annual convention is held in that village, takes charge of arrangements for banquets and so on for the guests, but acknowledges no ties with any other Sisterhood unit. The first of these local units that were established appear to have been those at Masset and at Port Simpson. From the minute book of the Masset group, it appears that it was founded in February of 1933 at the behest of Alfred Adams. It was apparently a new organization for the village. At Port Simpson, it was reported that there had been a club called the "Village Women's Auxiliary" in existence quite a number of years before the first (organizational) meeting of the Brotherhood. According to my informants, this club took charge of

the preparation of meals and feasts for the guests at the first meeting and continued to do so during subsequent annual meetings at Port Simpson. About 1934 it was suggested to them that they change the name of the organization to that of "Native Sisterhood," and they did so at that time. The Port Simpson women are most vehement in denying connection with any other Sisterhood organization. Although they pay dues to the Native Brotherhood office, they regard the raising of funds for the local Brotherhood branch, for example, to send delegates to a convention, as their principal function.

Actually, sometime in the late 1930's, Alfred Adams, then Brotherhood president, attempted to establish an overall Sisterhood organization on the model of the Alaskan one. He designated a woman from Bella Bella as the president. This lady had a difficult time of it. She visited a number of northern villages and was apparently quite unprepared for the hostility she encountered among the local women. This was particularly true on her arrival at Port Simpson. Since many of the Port Simpson people feel that the Native Brotherhood originated in their village, as it actually did in a sense, they apparently feel that they should be given the lead in setting up a major organization for women. Apparently a few women from the central coast still consider themselves representatives of an intervillage and intertribal group. Some of the younger women in the north are not even aware of all this. There was considerable discussion among them at Masset when a woman there found a letter, which she had apparently received during her tenure of office as secretary of the Masset Sisterhood and which she had rather obviously disregarded. The purpose of the letter was to announce that the new president of the (intertribal) Sisterhood had been elected at Bella Bella.

These women's auxiliaries were established in the early days of the organization on a very informal basis. There was no provision for them in the original constitution. The new constitution provides for their establishment, though it does not state clearly whether they are to be simply local groups or whether they are to be a counterpart of the men's coastwise association. The local auxiliaries have no vote in meetings of the local Brotherhood branch and, though they may send delegates to an annual convention, their delegates have no vote there either. There has been some tendency at a few northern villages to urge women to pay a full membership in the Brotherhood rather than the relatively smaller one which they pay as Sisterhood members, and, presumably, they would thus be allowed to take an active part in both local and main organization affairs. The qualifications for membership defined in the constitution makes no references whatsoever to sex. The only significant requirement is that

a member or a candidate for membership must be an Indian as defined by the Indian Act. It is not yet clear whether the Brotherhood leaders realized the possibilities of increasing the organization's limited income by this means. It is very certain that the Indian women are much more faithful payers of dues than are the men.

There are still a good many Indian women who work in the canneries during the season, either in connection with the packing operation or in the net lofts. Instead of the standard $2 per year Sisterhood fee, these women pay $3 a year to the Vancouver office. In return, their wages and working conditions are supposed to be provided for through negotiations with the canning companies by the business agent and Executive Committee. Actually in recent years it appears that the canning companies, simply through courtesy, make the same agreements for cannery workers with the Brotherhood that are made with the white union. The negotiations concerning wage workers are customarily held separately, and sometimes simultaneously, therefore the Brotherhood negotiators are ordinarily unable to attend both. Wage scales set for net women are arranged only with the Brotherhood since it is said there are no white women who do this work. The man who was acting business agent in 1954 was very anxious to try to find some way in which the women cannery workers and net workers could have some actual representation at the time wage agreements are made. I have no information as to whether he was able to arrange for this.

APOSTATES AND HOLDOUTS

In the account of the expansion of the Brotherhood in British Columbia, the entry of various Indian communities has been recounted in some detail. To complete the picture, however, it is necessary to report the circumstances surrounding the dropping out of one group from the organization; and, in addition, to account for various communities which never joined or have never been represented by more than very few individuals. In each instance, the opposition to the Brotherhood organization reflects reactions against Brotherhood policy or significant factors in relations among the Indians.

The community of Metlakatla, inhabited principally by descendants of the village who remained behind when Duncan moved his congregation of faithful to Alaska, was represented at the initial meeting at which the Native Brotherhood was founded. At the second meeting a year later Metlakatla delegates were also present. Subsequent to that time, however, the community quit the organization entirely. The Metlakatla people did not formally resign or return their charter, and for that reason, were listed for a number of years in Brotherhood reports as still having a branch. However, they no longer participated in any way. Most members of the com-

munity presently deny that they ever had anything to do with the Brotherhood. Some of the younger men, of course, may not know the circumstances of Metlakatla's brief participation, and the older men presumably feel a certain embarrassment over having dropped out. Various informants offered a variety of reasons to account for this abandonment of the Brotherhood by the Metlakatlans. Whether these explanations are accurate or not is a question. They do, however, cast light on community relationships. The most charitable explanation was based on the fact that the Metlakatla community had been considering the move for mass enfranchisement for many years, and felt that identification with an Indian organization was somehow inconsistent. This explanation seems reasonable enough, although I am uncertain that the enfranchisement move dates back to the time, 1933, of the community quitting the Brotherhood. Another explanation was that the Brotherhood stand on education for Indians was forcibly expressed from the time of the earliest convention. That is to say, the organization came out flatly against denominational schools, insisting that it was the responsibility of the Government to provide public schools for Indians, comparable to and equivalent to the schools maintained by the Province for white children. One informant stated that, since at this time Metlakatla had a school maintained by the Anglican Church which was generally considered to be very good, the Metlakatlan delegates disagreed with the other members of the Brotherhood. It would appear that they were afraid that taking the stand as representatives of other communities would be regarded as indicating lack of appreciation of the school that was being operated for them. Other suggested explanations made by Port Simpson people are interesting and reveal the resistance of intercommunity antagonisms and rivalries. Several Port Simpson people stated that Metlakatla dropped out of the Brotherhood because they had expected that being a relatively advanced and acculturated community they would be able to dominate the organization. According to these informants, when none of the Metlakatlan delegates were elected to principal offices and when a number of the resolutions they offered were refused by the convention they quit in a fit of pique. Another Port Simpson explanation was based on ill feeling existing between the people of Metlakatla and those of Port Simpson over the proceeds from the sale of land for the townsite of Prince Rupert. Originally a very large reservation had been laid off in which Port Simpson and Metlakatla were to share lands. Somewhere along the line it seems to have been decided administratively that Port Simpson should have the northern half of the district and Metlakatla the southern. The Indians of Port Simpson do not particularly like this arrangement and there is some question as to whether they really

appreciated its significance. In the original plans for the railroad some consideration was given the possibility of making Port Simpson the Pacific terminal. For one reason or another this was not done, however, and the tract which is occupied by the modern city of Prince Rupert was selected instead. This tract, which lay within the southern half of the joint Tsimshian Reserve, was purchased for quite a substantial sum. The Metlakatla share was set up, in accordance with Indian Department policy, in a fund for that band. The people of Port Simpson expected that Metlakatla would offer them a part of this money, since not only was the reserve theoretically jointly held by the two communities, but they considered that from the point of view of aboriginal land rights, they had as much right to the tract as did any of the Metlakatla people. It was said that after waiting some time for the Metlakatlans to take the initiative, the chiefs of Port Simpson sent a representative to broach the question. The Metlakatlan people refused, however, to share their band funds with Port Simpson. The people of Port Simpson resented this strongly. Accordingly, some of them still say that Metlakatla dropped out of the Brotherhood because those people were ashamed to attend conventions at Port Simpson and deal with and cooperate with Port Simpson people after having unjustly deprived them of their fair share of the land sale proceeds. This interpretation would seem to be a rather dubious one, but it is very significant in illustrating the great influence of friction between villages which had more immediate meaning to many of the Indians than did broad areas of common interest.

A community which never participated in the Brotherhood except in the most desultory, half-hearted way is Skidegate. This village's outstanding citizen, the Reverend Mr. Kelly, took no part in the Brotherhood for a number of years. It is not clear whether this was the result of pressure of duties in the missionary field, or whether he was disheartened because of the failure of the Allied Tribes movement with which he was associated for so many years. In part, at least, because of Kelly's lack of interest in the movement, Skidegate did not join in the early years while the organization was growing on the north coast. There was another factor involved also, and that is the excellent relations and close cooperation between the Indians of Skidegate and the residents of the white community of nearby Queen Charlotte City. The white fishermen are said to have been very union minded, and as a result, influenced the Skidegate Indians to join them in a local of one of the predecessors of the modern U. F. A. W. U. Eventually, a branch of the Brotherhood was established in Skidegate, but it has never been anything but an inactive, very weak unit.

The Niska Land Committee diehards, as has been related elsewhere, effectively blocked the establishment of a Brotherhood branch at Aiyansh. Even after the downstream villages joined the organization, it was not permitted to establish itself at the upper-river communities. It could be kept out because for many years the village councils on the Nass had had final control over the establishment of clubs or other organizations in their respective communities. There were, and still are, a considerable number of the younger men from Aiyansh who joined the Brotherhood, but they did not ever formally set up a branch there.

A Tsimshian informant, who had been very active in organizational work for the Brotherhood, described some of the problems encountered up the Skeena River among the Gitksan. It appears from his account that, particularly during the 1930's, there was a great deal of dissension in villages like Kispiyox and Kitwanga between younger progressive segments of the population and elderly conservatives. This informant stated that the two factions in those villages tried to involve the Brotherhood in their feud. The younger people said that they would join the organization if it took a stand opposing the giving of feasts and formal assumption of names and titles in the Indian villages. The older conservatives made it plain that they would have nothing to do with the organization if it took such a stand. The organizers tried to convince both parties that the Brotherhood took no sides in strictly local issues, but left them to be settled by the people immediately concerned. They were apparently not very convincing however, and, while there are nominally a number of branches in the Gitksan villages, few of them are at all active.

Another block of communities in which the Native Brotherhood has never had anything but very nominal support is composed of the coast Salish and Nootka villages. During the brief period of Andrew Paull's activities as business agent of the organization, a considerable number of branches were established in the Salish communities about the Gulf of Georgia, and on the lower Fraser, and in the Nootka villages on the west coast of Vancouver Island. This was mainly the result of Paull's very great personal influence among these people. Once he severed his connection with the Brotherhood, the organization's hold on these communities was considerably weakened. To make matters worse, a very strong conflict of interest developed. The Brotherhood stand on education for Indians increasingly urged the establishment of day schools, that is, a school at each village which children could attend while residing at home, as opposed to the system of residential schools. This is construed by many coast Salish and Nootka Indians, and by their missionaries as well, as an attack on the Roman Catholic residential

school system. Most of these communities, of course, are predominantly Catholic in faith. The present Brotherhood leadership has tried to clarify the position of the organization by insisting that there is no sectarian bias whatsoever, but that the organizational educational policy is meant to emphasize the responsibility of a Federal Government and eventually of the Provincial government for providing adequate education to Indian children. This has, however, failed to convince the Catholic Indians. The unwillingness of the Brotherhood to modify the stand against residential schools by allowing sort of a local option procedure, which is actually implied in the educational provisions of the Indian Act, has prevented them from effectively organizing many of the coast Salish or Nootka communities, although they do have a sort of sporadic membership in these villages. It may be added that the same factor has completely prevented organization of the interior Indians, who are also very strongly Catholic. Another factor, of course, that weakens any attempt to build up the organization among people of the interior is the stress on fishing and the Brotherhood's relationship with the fishing industry. Many interior Indians regard the organization as nothing but a fishermen's union which has nothing to offer them, since they do no commercial fishing and their economic problems are quite different from those of coast groups. As a result, the Brotherhood, though it claims to represent the Indians of the entire Province, has remained essentially an organization of coast Indians with a few very weak outposts in the interior.

THE INDIAN AND THE FISHING INDUSTRY

The history of the development and growth of the fishing industry on the Northwest Coast and of the relations of the Indians to it are rather peculiar and merit detailed review. In many respects there has been little difference between British Columbia and southeast Alaska. In the very early days when the industry was in its infancy there was a great degree of dependence on the local Indian communities for labor. This included both fishermen and cannery workers, although in some localities orientals were imported at a very early day for a good deal of the so-called "inside work." Even though the techniques of fishing differed from those practiced by the Indians aboriginally, it seems to have been considered that the Indian's knowledge of habits of the fish, and his local knowledge of currents, tides, rocks, etc. made him valuable. There is no question but that fishing was an occupation in which the Indian had considerable interest. He rapidly learned to master the new techniques, beginning with the earliest one of gillnetting from skiffs, and kept up with progress until today Indians competently handle large fish-

ing craft, with gasoline or diesel powerplants, and all the complex equipment and gear that is used in modern commercial fishing.

In British Columbia it appears that white and Japanese fishermen did not enter the picture in significant numbers until around 1890, and then only on the Fraser and Skeena. There were numerous small canneries built all along the coast. Almost every sizable inlet into which one or more rivers empty, sooner or later came to be the site of a cannery. Competition was extremely keen between these plants. Those in more isolated places especially, competed quite sharply with each other for Indian fishermen and inside workers. A practice that grew up very early was for the canner to hire one or more "Indian bosses." The cannery managers tried to pick out men who combined various qualities: enough English or Chinook jargon to make communication easy, and influence among the Indians. In many cases young chiefs were selected. One of the important functions of the Indian boss was to act as a recruiter, trying to get the services of the best fishermen for his particular cannery. The managers authorized all sorts of inducements; increase in the price of fish, bonuses, cash advances during the lean months of spring, occasionally free issues of boots and oilskins, in order to get good men. Thus there was over the years a regular pattern of increasing pay for the fishermen which came from management with no intercession whatsoever by the fishermen themselves. It is true of course that there were demands made for increased fish prices and numerous strikes but most of the Indians regard these as having been inspired chiefly by white fishermen. It was also true that a very large proportion of these strikes were unsuccessful. Consequently, the prevalent attitude among the Indians is that most of the increases in their earnings have been given them voluntarily by the canners.

Another pattern of relationships that developed rather early was the development of strong loyalty of the fisherman to his cannery. Presumably this was fostered by the cannery managers for obvious reasons. The fisherman who got cash advances or was given credit at the cannery store before the season, was expected to fish for that cannery. Selling the fish "around the corner" as they call it, that is, to another buyer than the one the fisherman has agreed to fish for, is regarded as a serious breach of faith. It is noteworthy that many Indians have fished season after season for the same cannery. Even after sale of many small independent canneries, and the merger of others into the present-day large corporations, many of the cannery managers were and still are men of long experience on the coast, know the Indians quite well, and often prefer dealing with Indian fishermen. This is true even though when the Japanese began to enter the industry in large numbers, around the turn of the century,

they were sought after by some cannerymen as being both more industrious fishermen, and more reliable, taking better care of boats and gear.

As newer and more efficient boats and gear came into use, a trend developed toward ownership of equipment by the fisherman rather than by the canner. However, as far as the Indian was concerned, he was under a tremendous handicap when it came to acquiring any substantial piece of capital equipment because of his limited sources of credit. As a ward of the Government, he could not be sued, and therefore no bank would risk making him a loan. The canneries themselves were the only commercial organizations that would make substantial loans. This they ordinarily did by permitting the Indian fisherman to purchase a boat that belonged to the cannery, paying for it in the course of several seasons with the results of his catch. Before long this practice was liberalized so that a man who wanted to build his own boat could get the cash from the cannery to purchase materials and to pay for such labor as was needed, or in some cases to purchase a boat already built. A man who was thus obligated to a particular cannery was expected to fish for that cannery until this obligation had been liquidated. This was, however, not entirely a one-way proposition. In the years of heavy salmon runs the cannery was likewise under an obligation to accept all the fish of these regular fishermen, though it might refuse to accept, or accept only part of a transient fisherman's catch.

In these arrangements with the canners, which in recent years have come to involve sizable capital investments, since a modern seine boat fully fitted out may represent a cost of anywhere from $20,000 to $40,000, many of the individuals who fished year after year for the same cannery, or men who worked as Indian bosses, since they were better known to the managers and on a more familiar relationship with them, were the ones naturally enough in the best position to get the credit necessary to purchase a boat. It has been remarked that many of the Indian bosses were men of rank in the Indian social system because, other things being equal, such persons could be more influential in recruiting labor among their people. Hence it is no accident that many of the best boats along the coast belong to chiefs. There is by no means 100 percent correlation between boat ownership and status but there is a very marked correlation. This is even true of communities which have gone in for boat building like Masset and Bella Bella. A considerable outlay of capital is nonetheless required for materials, powerplants, and other fittings and some labor as well. It is also true that there are still many company-owned boats. These may be simply rented to the fishermen for the season, as in the case of the cannery-owned gillnet boats on the Skeena, or else the company

claims a certain number of shares for the boat. Ownership of a fishing vessel by the fisherman is ordinarily advantageous, but in a poor season can be very costly. The necessary repairs, readying the vessel for sea, insurance, fuel, and the rest, and in addition the very expensive nets which can be expected to last but a season or two at best, result in a very high overhead. Consequently, the pattern has developed in recent years in which the owner of a seine boat may charter his boat to the cannery for the season. This insures him, of course, of a fixed income in addition to his share of the catch as a crew member. The cannery in this case is entitled to the "boat shares" of the catch.

The most recent development in the fishing industry in British Columbia has been the streamlining of the entire operation following mergers of most of the canneries into a very few large corporations. Many of the small local canneries have been stripped of their equipment and either shut down or converted into "camps" where the fishermen may deliver their fish, refuel and resupply, and dip and dry their nets. Most of the salmon are carried in good-sized tenders from the fishing grounds or from the camps to the large centralized canneries. This change has had little effect on the fishermen themselves, but it has meant a loss of income to many cannery workers, especially to Indian women in the isolated villages. It has also meant the loss of the sources of income from the preseason work of getting the cannery ready for operation, in which many Indian men used to participate.

The shares of the fishing income depend upon the type of boat used. On the small gillnet boats 1 or 2 men at the most go out, and if there are 2 they share the expenses and catch. On a British Columbia, seine boat, which ordinarily carries 5 or 6 men, there are 11 shares aboard, 2½ for the boat, 1½ for net, usually 2 shares for captain, and 1 each for the members of the crew.[51] From the gross catch the expenses of fuel, oil, and food are deducted according to shares. That is to say, the boatowner, if he is operating on an independent basis, provides four-elevenths of these expenses, the captain, if other than boatowner, two-elevenths, and the crew members one-eleventh each. On a company-owned or company-chartered boat the cannery pays its boat shares of fuel and oil expenses, but does not pay any part of the food bill, which is taken care of by the crew. Net work—hanging, mending, dipping, and so on—is paid for by the owner of the net.

The herring fishery as it has developed in British Columbia in recent years operates on a completely different basis: the "pool." That

[51] The number of shares aboard a seine boat in Alaska differs slightly, but the general system is the same.

is to say, all the vessels in the fleet are assigned to cover certain areas and all share equally in the catch. This, as I understand, is partly due to the tendency of the herring to appear less regularly in particular localities than do salmon, so that if the fleet does not cover the entire district in which it is fishing, it could quite possibly miss large schools altogether. In addition, modern herring boats are large vessels with elaborate and expensive gear, including echo-sounding equipment, and represent considerable investments. The herring fishing in British Columbia is done by a national group. It is said that all the herring fishermen in the principal herring pool are of Yugoslav descent. The Indians have been trying for a number of years to participate in this fishery. The Brotherhood has urged the operators of the reduction plants to let the Indians form a fleet of their own. Within the last few years a "little pool" has been made up of Indian-owned salmon seine boats from Alert Bay, Bella Bella, and Masset, which appears to be fairly successful. I was told that the principal Brotherhood argument in getting this pool established was that the Indians would be in a position to prevent a tieup of the herring fishery by the rather tightly knit Yugoslav group.

TRADE UNIONISM

Since very early days the fishing industry in British Columbia has been characterized by numerous labor disputes which quite frequently were both bitter and violent. These disputes were for many years due to the activities of numerous local fishermen's organizations, for the most part quite independent of each other and, in fact, often competing with each other, a situation which persisted until the middle 1930's. The turn toward consolidation of these organizations was relatively recent. While under modern Canadian law, as in the case of United States law, the fisherman is regarded not as a hired workman, but as a small-scale contractor, at the time when the labor dispute patterns were established, fishermen were actually laborers hired by the day. This would seem to have been an important factor in patterning early relationships with the fishing industry. The rather complicated history of labor-industry relationships on the coast has been recounted in some detail by Jamieson and Gladstone (1950; see also Gladstone, 1953). A brief résumé of developments in this area, particularly emphasizing the role of the Indians, will be given in the following paragraphs.

The earliest fishermen's strike of which I have record was one occurring in 1893 on the Fraser River. At this period, Indian fishermen outnumbered all others. Apparently most of the Indian fishermen were from Salish groups of the lower Straits of Georgia region, but there was a sprinkling of Kwakiutl and other people from more

distant villages. The strike itself seems to have been started by a small group of white fishermen who organized a "Fraser River Fishermen's Protective Union," and persuaded the Indians to join. The outcome of their strike was not successful. In fact, there was another pattern set at this time which recurs again and again in the history of these instances: when in the end the Indians held steadfastly to the original resolve to hold out for an increase in wages, white and Japanese fishermen pulled the rug out from under them by breaking the strike under the protection of local authorities. At about this same period there were a number of minor strikes on the Skeena River also.

By 1899, the labor picture in the fishing industry had undergone some changes. Prices at this time were based on the catch, rather than on a wage basis. Much more important from the Indian point of view was the fact that the competition from Japanese fishermen had become most serious. There were considerable numbers of Japanese fishing on the Fraser and on the Skeena, where they very early came to control the picture. It should be added also that these Japanese fishermen came to be an extremely tightly organized group. On the Fraser they had an organization known as the "Fishermen's Benevolent Society," which had been established, it is said, under the patronage of the Japanese consul, and which among its various activities included that of acting as a trade union. It is reported that in 1900 this Japanese organization joined white and Indian fishermen in a decision to strike for price increases, and then, before the dispute had been settled, agreed with the canners to start fishing in a body more than 2,000 strong, if granted protection of the local militia, a fact which caused no little bitterness among both whites and Indians. On the Skeena River also, the Japanese were organized into a very solidly unified association, called, for a time at least, the "Skeena River Resident Fishermen's Association." This unit was able to be a controlling factor in any strike or other dispute. While the Fraser and the Skeena were the scene of greater activity and as well greater problems than during the earlier days of the fishing industry, there were difficulties elsewhere. For example, Kwakiutl informants tell of the time, about the 1890's (there were but two canneries on Rivers Inlet), when a very small number of white fishermen organized a strike to attempt to raise the price of sockeye from 5 to 10 cents per fish. The strikers, including all the white, Indian, and Japanese on the Inlet, resolved to stand firm. The canners would not, or perhaps could not, pay the price demanded. Most of the southern Kwakiutl loaded their gear in their canoes and went home. I was told that there were a very few Japanese fishermen on Rivers Inlet at this time. Apparently the Indians did not trust them, for

it is said that they took the Japanese with them by canoe to Alert Bay from which they might get a ship to Vancouver. The white fishermen remained at Rivers Inlet waiting for a ship to call to take them out. Not long after the Indians had got home, a cannery official came to Alert Bay to tell them that there was a very good run of fish in Rivers Inlet and that the white men and the local Indians (the Wikeno) were fishing at the original price of 5 cents. He offered to arrange for a tug to tow the canoes back to Rivers Inlet if they wanted to return. Many went back, and on their arrival they found the originators of the strike and the Wikeno "with their skiffs full of sockeye."

Despite the existence of the Japanese organizations, and the fact that white fishermen also had their locally organized unions which Indians occasionally joined, the Indians made no attempt to organize themselves for a number of years. The first Indian union formed was started in 1914 by W. H. Pierce, a half-blood Tsimshian missionary at Port Essington on the Skeena River. The original aim of this union appears to have been an attempt to help its members compete with the Japanese, rather than to organize them for solidarity in price disputes with the canners. The Japanese were not only numerous and well organized on the Skeena, but they were also coming to be very noticeably favored by many canneries. They were assigned the best boats and nets, better quarters, and given preference in many other ways. The reason, of course, was that the Japanese fished longer hours and in any weather, they took far better care of the boats and nets than did the Indians, and were generally regarded as more reliable workmen. Pierce's goal was apparently that of inculcating these virtues among the Indians. However, the union did act as a solid integrated body. It is said that by 1919 there were branches of this union, not only on the Skeena, but on the Nass, in the Queen Charlotte Islands, and even on Rivers Inlet. (I suspect that the reference to Rivers Inlet is to the Haida fishermen who occasionally went there at about this period. Southern Kwakiutl informants have no recollection of any such a union.) The missionary founder of the group was, however, its mainstay. Not long after Pierce was transferred to another mission station up the Skeena River, his union fell apart. The Niska, however, established an organization of their own, known as the Nass River Fishermen's Association, which continued in existence for quite a number of years.

The entry of the Native Brotherhood into the labor scene occurred in a rather peculiar fashion. Properly speaking, it came into the picture as a strike-breaking body. About 1933 or 1934, there was a strike on the Skeena. White, Indian, and Japanese boats were all tied up. Certain of the canners sought out some prominent

Tsimshian and persuaded them to convince their tribesmen, principally people from Port Simpson, to fish. While the canners would not raise the price of fish above that which they had originally offered, they promised bonuses to the Tsimshian fishermen. It so happened that the men contacted were very active leaders in the newly formed Native Brotherhood. It thus turned out that Brotherhood members from Port Simpson broke the strike. There is to this day some vestige of ill feeling, particularly among the Niska, over this episode. One Tsimshian informant told me that the Indian Department sent its boat, the *Nasskeena*, with police officers to protect the strike-breaking Indians. A few individual Japanese who joined the strike breakers were manhandled by strikers, but there were no attacks made on the Indians because of the police protection. The result of this incident was that in succeeding years the Skeena canners made a particular point of consulting Brotherhood officials at the beginning of the season and reaching an agreement with them on fish prices. In other words, they began to deal with the Brotherhood as a negotiating entity. Apparently this came about because they realized that the Indian fishermen tended to be somewhat more cooperative in their demands than were the whites and even the Japanese.

It seems fairly clear that in its early years the Brotherhood did not play a very aggressive role in price negotiations with the canners. They simply accepted what was offered them. A much more aggressive union was formed among the southern Kwakiutl after the disastrous Rivers Inlet strike of 1936. Southern Kwakiutl and Nootka fishermen lost the entire season and almost to a man returned to their villages, not only without funds, but heavily in debt, since they had purchased supplies and gear on credit from the cannery stores before the season was to open. They were also far from pleased over the news that eventually reached them that white fishermen and some northern Indians had come into Rivers Inlet to fish the last week or so of the season. That fall the "Nimpkish Fishermen's Association," which soon became the "Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association," was founded. One of the leading spirits in forming this group was an Alert Bay man named George Luther. He himself was not a fisherman, but was a sort of assistant teacher at the Alert Bay school. He was well thought of among his fellows because of his education, which, though actually limited, far surpassed that of most other Kwakiutl. Luther worked out the plans for the organization and served as secretary, keeping its records for a number of years. The association, at Alert Bay, very soon got the whole-hearted support of all the other southern Kwakiutl. It is related that an important factor in enlisting support was an agreement which leaders in the group were able to make

with a certain cannery for which many Cape Mudge people fished. Apparently the Cape Mudge Indians had been purchasing boats through the usual sort of credit arrangements with a nearby cannery. They had a poor season in 1935 and lost the sockeye season in 1936 on account of the strike; consequently, most of them were far behind in their payments. The cannery, to protect its quite considerable outlay, was reported to be planning to repossess practically all of their boats. Certain leaders in the P. C. N. F. A. however, are said to have gone to the cannery officials and persuaded them by one means or another to extend the credit of the Cape Mudge fishermen. This demonstration of strength or negotiating skill, whichever it was, convinced all the rest of the Kwakiutl who had not joined of the value of membership, and they apparently joined almost in a body.

This union was the strongest and most effective Indian organization up to this time. It had a number of advantages, of course, deriving chiefly from the fact that all its members were from a single linguistic division so that there were no difficulties in communication and, as well, most of these people ordinarily knew each other quite well. With the decrease in population, and expansion of the wealth economy, the aboriginal potlatch rings had long since broken down, and almost all the southern Kwakiutl tribes, including the somewhat isolated Goasila and the Cape Mudge groups, were by now in the habit of assembling for potlatches and other festivals.

With the merger of the Native Brotherhood and the P. C. N. F. A. in 1942 the Indian's bargaining power in the fishing industry was greatly strengthened. Everyone seems to have assumed that the new organization would continue to act in this field. It appears never to have been specifically mentioned, but was just taken for granted. Furthermore, the establishment of a business officer in Vancouver put the Brotherhood, at least nominally, on a par with the white union. Prior to this time, cannery officials had come to native villages, such as Alert Bay, to discuss prices. Now the Brotherhood was prepared to meet these people as equals in a modern urban setting. The subsequent history of the Brotherhood's union activities was principally the history of its somewhat peculiar relationship with white unionists. In the preceding years many of the small independent white fishermen's unions had been won over to a small coastwise organization known as the "United Fishermen's Union." This is the association that eventually came to be known as the United Fishermen's and Allied Worker's Unions after they organized cannery workers as well as fishermen. As the U. F. U. was especially active in organizing during this period of its expansion, its officials naturally made note of the Brotherhood-P. C. N. F. A. merger. The following year,

1943, they sent representatives to the Brotherhood convention held at Cape Mudge and attempted to convince the Indians to merge with them. At this time they requested an agreement by which the union would take over all bargaining functions for the Brotherhood, and would collect all dues from the Indians (that is, combined union and Brotherhood dues), turning over to the Brotherhood that part of the income which corresponded to its total annual dues. The Indians, however, refused to make such an agreement. They insisted that they intended to preserve their identity as a unit. While they were perfectly willing to cooperate with the union, they had no intention of merging and being dominated by that organization. There can be little doubt but what the long history of unfortunate experiences with white unionists had made the Indians distrustful of such organizations. At this period, political bias was still a matter of unconcern. Finally an agreement was reached at a special meeting between Brotherhood and union officers, according to which the two organizations resolved to negotiate jointly with the canners, but to sign separate price and wage contracts. Each organization was to respect the other's interests. In addition, the union, which had its own price research organization, agreed to make information on price trends (on which, of course, their price demands are based), available to the Brotherhood. For a couple of years a fairly considerable degree of superficial cooperation was maintained. However, after the Brotherhood received its formal charter in 1945, union leaders lodged an official protest to the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada against an organization chartered under the Societies Act rather than as a labor union being permitted to sign labor contracts. This was, of course, a very deliberate attack on the Brotherhood, although when this latter organization learned of the attempt and protested, the union officers denied that the Brotherhood had been their target. They insisted the attack had been aimed at certain independent white organizations (cooperatives?) on the Fraser.

The episode just described is rather typical of the peculiar relationship combining cooperation and rivalry between the two groups. On a number of occasions following strong representations by Brotherhood officers the union has announced that it would make no attempts to recruit membership among the Indians. Nonetheless, union organizers and business agents have signed up Indians wherever they could. Most of the Indian fishermen who reside in Prince Rupert, for example, where there is no Brotherhood branch, belong to the union. In addition, a number of years ago the union established a local branch at Kincolith among members of a village faction who had split with the local group that controlled the branch of the Brotherhood. The Haida of Skidegate also belonged to the union rather than

the Brotherhood. Nominally there is supposed to be a branch of the Brotherhood there, but it has been very weak for many years, and really does not function at all. The situation at Skidegate is actually not so much a matter of dissatisfaction with the Brotherhood, however, as it is a matter of cooperation with the white fishermen of Queen Charlotte City, with whom the people of Skidegate maintain close and cordial relationships. In many communities and districts where Brotherhood leadership is weak, either on a local level, or where the district vice president is unable to visit all the villages and keep enthusiasm at a moderately high level, union organizers have made determined recruiting forays. Various published statements by union officials have made clear that they regard the operation of the Brotherhood, as far as membership and collection of dues are concerned, as quite inefficient. They consider that they could do a much better job of organizing the Indians. An instance of the manner in which the union representatives work occurred at Masset about 1951. At that time the local shellfish cannery, which employs most of the able-bodied women in the community for most of the year, was moved from its original location in the Indian village to the white community of New Masset, some 3 miles away. This naturally created some problems regarding transportation of workers, provision for care of small children, and the like. The women appeared to have had a pretty definite notion as to what they wanted, but felt unsure of themselves and their capabilities to handle formal negotiations. First, they wrote to the business agent of the Native Brotherhood in Vancouver requesting his assistance. He is said to have replied that the Brotherhood had no interest in negotiating with small independent plants like the one at Masset and was only concerned with the salmon-packing industry. The union business agent in Prince Rupert heard of the situation and came to Masset to volunteer his services. He conferred with the owner of the cannery and worked out an agreement with no difficulty whatsoever. As a matter of fact, the cannery owner was a long-time resident of New Masset who knew the Indians quite well and was most sympathetic toward them. He undoubtedly would have made just as favorable an agreement with representative women from the cannery workers group. The union agent, however, met with the Masset women to inform them of the pending agreement. He advised them that since they were not union members, he would be unable to sign the agreement in their behalf unless they then and there joined the union. So all the women, who in reality constituted a Sisterhood group, paid union dues. The following year, at the urging of the men of the village, they ceased paying union dues and sent their dues as Sisterhood members to the Native Brotherhood office in Vancouver.

An interesting recent development in the field of recruiting has been the fact that quite a number of white fishermen and a few Japanese have, in the course of the past few years, requested and been given associate membership in the Native Brotherhood. The Brotherhood has made no effort to solicit membership among these people. On the contrary, they have joined on a voluntary basis. Most of these people are union-minded fishermen who have become distrustful of U. F. A. W. U. leadership since that union was dropped from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada because of the strong left-wing views of its leaders.

The foregoing may sound as though the Brotherhood has been consistently holding its own in its competition with the union. Actually such is not the case. While most Indians on the coast are nominally loyal to the Brotherhood, there are a considerable number who are quite conscious of the advantages which the union offers, such as a welfare fund which provides very modest benefits to fishermen who lose their boats, suffer severe damage through storms or wrecks, and the often promised but seldom paid strike pay. Furthermore, although members of the Native Brotherhood have learned to study market reports and so on, they still depend on information supplied them by the union's research department and are consequently likely to be very strongly influenced by them. In addition, the union has the upper hand because of its control of certain key personnel in the industry. This became very obvious during the fishermen's and cannery worker's strike of 1952. Although a considerable proportion of the 1951 catch was still in the warehouses unsold at the time of price negotiations, the union insisted on pressing for an increase in salmon prices. The Native Brotherhood, rather reluctantly, concurred. When it became apparent as the time passed that the canneries could not comply with the demands, the Indian fishermen became extremely restive. Votes taken in the Brotherhood branch about mid-season indicated that the majority of Indian fishermen were willing to accept the cannery prices. They also were very conscious of the fact that they were entirely dependent on fishing for their cash income for the year, whereas, as they often said, white fishermen could find work ashore. The Indian has difficulty in finding employment ashore, both because he lacks necessary skills and because of a tendency toward discrimination by many employers. Consequently, the president of the Brotherhood, as he was authorized to do, signed a separate agreement with the canners based on the original price. This brought angry outbursts from the union. The Brotherhood president forced an apology from them, but nonetheless, the union was able to keep the fishermen tied up because it alone controlled the tendermen. The modern stream-

lined salmon industry in British Columbia depends on tenders which collect fish from the fishermen and haul them long distances to the centralized packing plants. The tenders are all vessels of such size that, according to insurance requirements, at least the captain and chief engineer must be licensed personnel. Very few Indians on the coast have ever qualified even for limited licenses and almost none of them operate tenders. Consequently, when union officials declared Indian-caught fish to be "hot" the union tendermen refused to handle them and, consequently, the Indian fishermen could not send their fish to the plants. As a result, the strike continued through most of the fishing season. The coast Indians underwent considerable hardship during the following winter. One possible solution of this problem may come about not through the activities of the Brotherhood, but from a Trades and Labor Congress attempt to replace the U. F. A. W. U. by a union of white fishermen which is politically middle-of-the-road. If this move is successful, it will probably be of benefit to the Brotherhood.

The union type of activities of the Brotherhood are managed on the same pattern as those of any similar sort of union. Since the various village communities, and consequently the branches, lose their identity at the beginning of the fishing season when the village people join several different canneries or fishing camps, so-called "plant committees" are formed at the scene of operations to handle minor negotiations, such as the settlement of grievances, and so on, for both fishermen and cannery workers who belong to the Brotherhood. These plant committees are elected by the fishermen and the workers at each industrial unit. At Port Edward where a number of district groups come to work, including Tsimshian, Niska, Gitksan, Haida, and Tahltan, the plant committee normally consists of 8 or 9 members so that all the groups may be represented. Elsewhere, the committee usually consists of three elected members. The plant committee is supposed to communicate with the Vancouver office to provide information or to express the view of the Brotherhood members present. In price negotiations, which normally take place in the spring of the year prior to the opening of the fishing, the Executive Committee of the Brotherhood plus the principal business agent act as a negotiating committee, meeting jointly with the union negotiators and with the committee representing the canners.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION

Since quite early times of Indian-white contact on the coast, the Indians have shown a notable enthusiasm for alcoholic beverages. Judge Howay assembled some of the earliest historical records of liquor traffic (Howay, 1942). It was not long before rum was an

important trade item. A bottle or a jug of it came to be indispensable as a clincher to a trade for sea-otter skins. Even though it was heavily cut with water ("Indian rum," so some of our franker journals relate, was diluted to about half strength, just as "Indian sugar" was mixed with bran to make it go farther) (Howay, 1930), enough was purveyed to spark innumerable brawls and slayings that led to lengthy feuds in the Indian villages. The seagoing traders flooded the coast with liquor; Hudson's Bay Company, in order to compete at all for the fur trade, had to deviate from long-established policy, outdoing the New Englanders in bartering it to the natives. Once the company was able to freeze out the seafaring traders, sale of liquor to Indians was stopped, but by that time there were towns in the south, like Victoria, which Indians visited, and then returned home with canoes loaded to the gunwales with cheap but potent drink.[52] The law prohibiting sale of liquor to Indians was in the original Indian Act, and went into effect, in theory at least, on the confederation of British Columbia with Canada. The traffic continued to be carried on, chiefly by independent traders who cruised the coast in small vessels, and by equally unscrupulous landsmen in the cities. Duncan and later other missionaries were given magistrate's commissions principally to enable them to legally arrest the seagoing bootleggers. Efforts to suppress the liquor traffic increased as time went on, but the most notable results were an increase in cost to the Indian of his liquor, and probably quite often a decrease in the liquor's quality. Apparently the gentle art of distilling "hootchenoo"—the potent and reputedly vile rum made from a molasses mash—which had such a vogue in southeast Alaska, though sometimes practiced, never became quite as popular in British Columbia—there must have been better sources of supply on the Canadian side.

The white stereotype of a drunken Indian is that of a wild uncontrollable demon. The conviction that alcohol often made the Indian draw his tomahawk (made in Birmingham) and go on the warpath was probably the reason for early and stringent laws con-

[52] It may be noted here that the reason advanced in later years by Duncan's partisans for his removal from Fort Simpson to Metlakatla, sale of liquor to Indians at the post, is nowhere indicated in his contemporary letters (see Church Missionary Society, 1869). There, it appears clearly that Indians were bringing liquor home from the south (Victoria). Duncan's first break with Hudson's Bay Company, and it was not a very violent one, came when the company officials in Victoria advised Duncan that "three [Duncan and his newly arrived 'coadjutors,' the Reverend Mr. and Mrs. Tugwell] could not expect from the Company the favours [3 years of free board and lodging] that had been granted to him so long as he was the single Missionary; and Mr. Duncan at once, while expressing his gratitude for the kindness that had been shown him in the past [on his return to Fort Simpson], undertook to commence building a house" (op. cit., p. 75). From these same letters, it appears that Duncan's converts originated the idea of moving from Fort Simpson, to escape ridicule, nagging, etc., of their fellows. The whole Duncan story should be restudied by an impartial historian, to weed out the distortions—most of which are adornments added by Duncan's admirers, not by Duncan himself.

trolling liquor sales to Indians in both British North America and the United States. Just how true this is, is difficult to judge. Opinions of whites, including police officers who have had to cope with drunks of many races, and of Indians themselves, vary. Just as in Alaska, there are a great many Indians who are strongly opposed to drinking by their people. They point to the same evil consequences mentioned in discussing the problem in Alaska: numerous tragically unnecessary drownings, drunken Indians victimized by petty crooks and thugs (one often hears hints that some of the drownings may be the result of an Indian's trying to defend himself against being "rolled"), the squandering of a season's earnings in a brief debauch. Nonetheless, the Brotherhood has taken a firm stand in favor of removal of the discriminatory restriction.

In late 1951, the Provincial government recommended to the Government of Canada that a section of the newly revised Indian Act, which with Provincial approval can be invoked to permit Indians to consume alcoholic beverages in public licensed premises, should be made effective in British Columbia. This step, when approved, made it possible for Indians to purchase and consume beer in the "beer parlours." In some quarters all sorts of dire predictions were made to the effect that trouble would ensue, but there was little or none.[53] Several "beer parlour" operators with whom I discussed the matter gave as their opinion that as a group, the Indian customers were better behaved than most of the rest of their clientele.

The Brotherhood leaders, some of whom are personally strongly opposed to use of alcoholic beverages, continue to urge legislative changes that will permit Indians to purchase distilled liquors, like everyone else (including, as they point out, orientals), on the grounds that the restriction is discriminatory. How long it will be before they win their point is difficult to predict.

ENFRANCHISEMENT

Enfranchisement of the Indian has long been regarded by administrators of Indian affairs in Canada as the final step in the process of assimilation of the Indian into the white population of the country. The procedure has been provided for by law for many years. However, this final step which legally makes a "white man" of the Indian involves complete separation from the Indian community. The enfranchised Indian is given his per capita share of

[53] The so-called "riots" in Prince Rupert in 1953 were caused, according to a consensus of both white and Indian informants, by a few overly truculent rookie policemen from the RCMP detachment stationed there, and far more whites than Indians were said to have been involved.

whatever funds the band may possess; he is compensated for such personal property as a house, lot, etc., that he may have on the reserve and for the appraised valuation of his share of band properties; and then he must make his home off the reserve. He also, of course, loses all such special privileges as he held as an Indian; that is, such rights as he had for hunting, fishing, tax exemption, and the rest. The only exemptions to this rule are returned war veterans from World Wars I and II, who have the privilege of voting, but who, at the same time, retain their Indian privileges. Moreover, with the new, expanded welfare program of the Department of Indian Affairs and all the benefits acquired since the end of World War I—old age pensions, family allowances, the new free medical care program, and the like—there are few incentives for persons to become enfranchised. In the view of many Indians they would actually stand to lose by taking this step. That is to say, many Indians consider the rights to hunt and fish for domestic purposes as of considerable economic importance. The medical care which they now receive on the reserve is likewise highly valued, for the coast Indians at least have become, if they were not always, highly conscious of health problems. While a person who becomes enfranchised would eventually be entitled to corresponding welfare benefits administered by the Province, there would be an interim period of 12 or 18 months during which he would not receive them. This period is, of course, that required for establishing residence in the Province. The only incentives for enfranchisement at present are: first, to obtain in cash the per capita share of band funds, the value of which, of course, varies tremendously from band to band since many groups have practically no funds at all; and second, the right to purchase alcoholic beverages at provincially operated retail liquor outlets.

The position of the Brotherhood on the question of enfranchisement is not at all positive. Nominally the organization favors enfranchisement for the Indian, in line with its general interest in "progress." Actually and specifically, the organization is firmly against enfranchisement unless provision can be made for enfranchised Indians to retain what they refer to as the "aboriginal rights," that is, special privileges for hunting, fishing, and so on. In other words, it is quite apparent the Indians want to eat their cake and have it too. For a number of years the organization claimed to be in favor of the so-called "Maori Plan." The strongest proponent for this system appears to have been the Reverend Mr. Kelly. This is the procedure established in New Zealand, according to which natives residing on reservations were privileged to vote for a limited number of native representatives who were seated in the legislature. This scheme provides for retention of the native's identity, racially and culturally,

and for his continued residence on reservations and retention of some special privileges that he has. It seems questionable whether the majority of the Brotherhood membership actually understood this system. Its principal exponents seem to have been a few members of the Executive Committee.

One problem that has drawn the attention of all Indians in the Province, members of the Brotherhood and nonmembers alike, is that which has arisen in connection with Metlakatla's move for mass enfranchisement. It appears that interest in this step was first aroused by a prominent member of the community who had returned there as an adult after having gone to New Metlakatla, Alaska. He became a very progressive leader of the community. His idea that the community should be enfranchised en masse was taken up by Indian agents as well as by officers of the Department of Indian Affairs, who regarded such a development as one that would represent a major achievement in the logical culmination of Canadian Indian policy. The community, almost to a man, filed a petition requesting that the necessary legal steps be taken to enfranchise them all. The considerable enthusiasm for this move, however, was weakened as a result of a series of unfortunate and lengthy delays. It appears that some of these were occasioned by changes in the Government, others were necessitated by various practical tasks that had to be carried out, such as that of making cadastral surveys, etc., but in any case, after considerable publicity, several years went by without anything being accomplished. Eventually, when it began to look as though the mass enfranchisement would be carried out, the question was raised concerning that old joker in the British Columbia land situation, the reversionary rights of the Province to reserve lands. That is to say, would enfranchisement of the entire band from a legal point of view be the same as the extinction of the band, and therefore, require all lands assigned to the group to be returned to the Province? Obviously, if this were the case, and if it were strictly carried out, the Metlakatlans would end up after enfranchisement not even owning the lots their homes stood on. This question produced a very marked dwindling of enthusiasm for enfranchisement in the village. The same individual who had been most active in arousing interest for enfranchisement in the first place changed his position completely. He even went to the length of circulating a petition requesting the Indian Department to drop the whole thing, and he secured about as many signatures to this petition as he had to the first one requesting enfranchisement. Presumably, in light of present-day Indian policy, both on Federal and Provincial levels, a reasonable solution will be worked out, but until it is, very few Indians in the Province would care to follow the lead of the Metlakatlans. Leaders of the Brother-

hood are quite interested in the situation, but they say they can do nothing at all and take no formal stand on the matter because Metlakatla has not requested Brotherhood assistance.

Rather unexpectedly, as far as the Indians were concerned, they found themselves, in 1947, the center of a controversy which they had done nothing to start. The background of events may have been even more complex than my informants described, but they related that in the Provincial government a piece of legislation was proposed which would give the Provincial franchise to Canadian-born persons of oriental descent—East Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. Just why the move developed when it did was never made clear to me. At any rate, some members of the Provincial legislature brought up the question of inclusion of British Columbia Indians—the nonwhite group of longest residence in the Province. News of the proposed measure reached the press; it soon drew the attention of a wide sector of the public. Certain partisans of the Indian cause were able to get good publicity for the issue, thereby arousing public interest. Hearings were arranged, at which representatives of the Native Brotherhood and of certain other Indian groups were given the chance to testify as to Indian attitudes on the issue. The Brotherhood Executive acted decisively. Discarding their ambivalence on enfranchisement, and the avowed preference for the vaguely understood "Maori Plan," the Committee resolved to urge giving the vote in Provincial affairs to Indians. Its representatives made the organization's stand abundantly clear at the hearings. A group of interior Indians, however, said by some to have been representatives of a new organization, the North American Indian Brotherhood, which Andrew Paull had founded in the interior, nearly scuttled the whole program. They stated flatly that the people they represented (various interior Salish reserves) not only had no interest in enfranchisement, Provincial or Federal, but did not want it at all. They were afraid that their "aboriginal rights" might be jeopardized by acceptance of the privilege. Brotherhood representatives had to talk pretty fast to explain away this divergence of Indian opinion. Finally they saved the day; the measure was favorably reported back, and promptly passed, so that Indians were entitled to vote for candidates and measures of their choice in Provincial (but not, of course, Dominion) elections.

The Brotherhood undertook to recommend personnel to register Indians in the Province, when the time came, before the next Provincial election. By nominating persons in each of its districts who were familiar with the villages, and some as well who were willing to travel in the interior, a good proportion of Indians were registered, and subsequently voted in the election. The Executive Committee

went on record, and recommended strongly to its membership, that Indians should vote for the (coalition) Government which had given them the franchise, as an indication of gratitude. This has been the organization's first and only stand, politically. Its leaders do not appear to believe that it is ready to enter the lists as a political force, although some of them say there are a number of ridings in the Province in which an organized Brotherhood vote could be an important factor. This negative position seems to have been maintained even in the instance of the only well-handled campaign by an Indian for public office. Frank Calder, a well-educated young Niska, staged a successful campaign for election to the Provincial legislature, and after serving a term most creditably ran again and was reelected. I was informed that, although Mr. Calder is a member of the Brotherhood Executive Committee (he has served as secretary for several years), that organization did not lend him official support. His Niska neighbors and kin of course backed him to the hilt. None of my informants volunteered the suggestion, but I would hazard a guess that Mr. Calder's kinship to a leading member of the Niskga Land Committee would guarantee him the Niska vote, a crucial one in his riding, no matter what he did.

The Indian vote of course not only gives them a voice in Provincial affairs, but gives them new channels, the political party organizations, for making themselves heard. There is, for example, a Liberal Club at Port Simpson, which can communicate to party offices and to Liberal members of the Provincial parliament. Naturally, only matters which come under Provincial concern can be expected to get consideration. Despite the advantage such an approach would give in Federal affairs, the Brotherhood has not modified its position regarding the Dominion franchise. The attitude is that they do not want enfranchisement unless they can retain the special privileges subsumed under the head of aboriginal rights.

CONSCRIPTION

The Brotherhood went on record as firmly opposed to the drafting of Indian youths into the Armed Forces during World War II. This stand was avowedly based on the view that, if the Indian was a ward of the Government and not possessed of full and equal rights of citizenship, he should not be required to bear the responsibilities of the citizen. Actually there are several basic inconsistencies in this argument. First of all, it sounds as though the organization wanted full enfranchisement for the Indian, which it does not (unless he can retain his special rights and privileges as an Indian—the so-called aboriginal rights—at the same time). Secondly, there are special legal provisions for the Indian veteran through which he

acquires the privileges of enfranchisement without losing his special Indian privileges.[54] The Indian veteran thus is the only person who can have his cake and eat it too—precisely the proclaimed goal of the Native Brotherhood for all Indians. Thus, the organization's anticonscription argument did not really make much sense, logically speaking. It is more probable that it derived from the thinking during World War I, when the land claims issue was at its hottest, and there was considerable resentment among British Columbia Indians against the Government. (The Port Simpson "Women's Village Auxiliary" is said to have led the way by raising funds to hire a lawyer to get exemptions for Port Simpson World War I draftees.)

Since practically all young Indians in the coastal villages are fishermen, and thus (as engaged in the essential occupation of food production) were entitled to deferment, the Brotherhood was able to combine its antidraft policy with its usual action policy of cooperation with governmental authorities. This it accomplished by making a determined effort to see that young Indians were informed as to the requirements regarding registration, reporting, and the procedure for requesting deferment. It is said that some youths from certain isolated Kwakiutl and Nootka villages, through ignorance of the law, found themselves in great difficulties. The Brotherhood, working with representatives of the Indian Department, assisted such people to straighten out their difficulties and get deferments in a proper manner. The business agent of the organization and the president, William Scow, were quite active in this work. It appears that their efforts along these lines came to be much appreciated by various officials, both those concerned with deferment and those of the Indian Department, and thus aided in creating good will for the organization they represented.

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

There is some indication that during the latter half of the 19th century many Indians came to the conclusion that learning English, and at least a modicum of literacy, were becoming more and more essential for dealing with whites. The idea that education, in the white sense of formal schooling, was the key to solution of the Indian's problems, was stressed by missionaries on the coast ever since Duncan's time. As has occurred in other areas, education became an important part of the proselytizing process. Although some adults might be permanently won over to the Christian faith, many resisted, or fell from grace at intervals. The missionaries

[54] He does not have to move off the reserve, he continues to get health and welfare benefits, and retains the special hunting and fishing rights.

were sure, however, that youngsters taught in missionary schools could be expected to become lifelong faithful members of the congregation. Not only was it possible to communicate with them better, but religious materials formed a good part of the bases of instruction. In addition, the submissive pattern of the pupil-to-teacher relationship was established toward the same individual, the missionary or his successor, who as the leader of the congregation wished to stand in an analogous position of dominance in the church and in the daily lives of the people. It cannot be overlooked, of course, that the missionaries were also most sincere in their belief as to the value of education for the Indian. As a result, the coast Indians for many years have been very anxious to get the best possible education for their children.

The early requests and petitions of the coast Indians did not include demands for education, because the people felt, for the most part, that their needs in this area were being adequately provided by the mission schools in the villages, and the mission residential (boarding) schools at such places as Metlakatla and Alert Bay. However, as time went on, the limited funds of the missionary societies, even though supplemented by the Federal grants, were clearly becoming insufficient to develop educational programs at the same pace as those in the Provincial schools. Therefore, requests for more Government support of education began to appear in petitions of the Allied Tribes about the time of World War I, and have continued ever since.

It has been noted that the Port Simpson petition of 1931, which was endorsed by the meeting at which the Brotherhood was first organized, included a request bearing on Indian education. This interest in education has continued to be one of the important planks of the Brotherhood program. The approach to the problem took the form of criticism of the existing system, and particularly the residential schools, at which children were kept for long periods. The Brotherhood leaders realized they were treading on dangerous ground, and tried to make clear that they did not mean to criticize the churches, or the missionaries, but rather, the Government, which they contended did not fulfill its responsibility of supporting the schools adequately. As mentioned elsewhere, the attacks on the school system, and particularly on the residential schools, have definitely blocked attempts of the Brotherhood to enlist interior and southern coast Indians in their cause. The residential school is an important part of the Catholic mission program, and Catholic Indians and missionaries alike have interpreted attacks on the institution as attacks on their church, despite Brotherhood protests against this construction.

With the revitalization and tremendous expansion of Government services to the Indians following World War II, great emphasis was placed on improving Indian schools. New schools were built in the villages to replace old makeshift and inadequate physical plants. In British Columbia (and throughout the Dominion), equaling Provincial public school standards was set as the target of the Indian school system: teachers' qualification requirements were set at the same level, and curricula were revised to raise the standards of instruction. A further major step was taken in which arrangements were made both on the Provincial and local levels for Indian children to be permitted to attend Provincial public schools, where for one reason or another no Indian school was available. This has meant that Indians living off their reserves in predominantly white communities could send their children to local schools, and also that Indian youngsters could, if scholastically qualified, go to high school. At the present time there are a considerable number of Indians attending high schools in the Province. The Dominion Government, through the Department of Indian Affairs, reimburses the Province on a per capita basis for Indian children enrolled in Provincial schools. The new progressive attitude of Federal and Provincial officials, and of local authorities, is nowhere better exemplified than in the cases where modern schools have been built through pooling of funds from all sources, such as the schools recently constructed at Bella Coola and Hazelton for both white and Indian children. In this way far better plants were constructed at less cost.

These trends in Indian education have of course been developed by the Department of Indian Affairs, and have their origin in the postwar policies of the Canadian Government, and, as well, the progressive attitude of the Provincial Government toward Indians. Since the measures are more or less in line with Brotherhood doctrine in this field, that organization has taken credit for "winning" them, and many Indians accept this idea that all these improvements represent achievements of the Brotherhood, even though such is not the case. The progress that has been made is simply a part of the expanded services of the Department; the most the Indian organization can legitimately claim is having directed the attention of administrators to the deficiencies in this area in prewar times.

The same situation, in general terms, prevails as regards public health programs. The coast tribes have a very marked concern about ill health; the people are constantly worrying over possible ailments, major and minor. From the prominence of the shaman in aboriginal times, and the fears of witchcraft, it seems likely that this is a very old attitude-pattern. The terrible smallpox and other epidemics of European source that decimated the native population in the 19th

century did not weaken this concern. Add to this faintly hypochondriac pattern the accident hazards of modern frontier life—the ax that slips, the rusty fishhook, the gasoline engine with its ever-present fire hazard, the inevitable hunting accident, and all the rest, and one can readily see why availability of medical care should become an important issue. Requests for improved medical facilities began to appear in the early Indian representations to the Government. The people were becoming familiar with Western medicine, but to many it was most inaccessible. As late as the mid-1930's, aside from such facilities as might exist in "company towns" like Ocean Falls, and such first-aid provisions as existed during the fishing season at various canneries, there were but two seasonably modern hospitals available north of Cape Caution: the United Church hospitals at Bella Bella and at Port Simpson (there was a hospital at Alert Bay, but I do not know how it was established). The need for medical services was stressed in the petitions of the Allied Tribes, and subsequently by the Native Brotherhood.

In recent years the Indian Department has changed the picture entirely. Responsibility for Indian health has been transferred to the Ministry of Public Health. A modern hospital for Indian patients has been established at Miller Bay, near Prince Rupert, in the north (the mission-operated Port Simpson hospital was shut down), and several hospitals and sanatoriums for tuberculosis patients have been constructed in the south. Qualified nurses are stationed in most villages, and a radio-telephone system is maintained by the Indian Department primarily to get aid in emergency cases with which the nurses cannot cope. (Agencies are allocated funds to charter aircraft to bring out Indian emergency cases from remote villages; during my brief visit to the Nass in 1953, one such mission was flown to the village of Aiyanch.) There may perhaps be places in the northern interior where because of local conditions it is still difficult for help to reach, but on the coast and the accessible parts of the hinterland the Indian now gets as good, or, in some situations, better medical services than his white neighbor.[55] It is necessary to point out that this improvement in Indian health services is not simply due to the fact that the responsibility for them was transferred to another department; the Department of Indian Affairs urged the transfer, as part of its postwar program, and cooperates most actively to assist the Department of Public Health to carry out its work.

Just as in the case of the expansion of educational work, the new health program has been in line with the changes urged by the

[55] In addition, of course, these services to the Indian are free (except to Indians who have resided continuously off their reserve for 18 months or more), whereas the white man must pay for most of his medical attention, unless he is a welfare case.

Brotherhood, and the organization counts the improvements among its achievements, even though they most probably would have been initiated by the Indian Department in any case. As a result, there is a very pronounced attitude on the part of the Indians to accept these benefits as their just due. Some persons with whom I talked seemed far less gratified over the new services than they were querulous that such services had not been given the Indian long ago.

It is worth reporting that there may be exceptions to this pattern of complaisant acceptance of benefits—I know of at least one. The hospital at Alert Bay, previously mentioned parenthetically, is now primarily for whites, and depends heavily on local financial support. I was told that the local white community, and various logging concerns in the region, contribute regularly and substantially to keep it going. The Indian Department, through the Department of Health, makes a fixed monthly allotment to the hospital for services to Indians. However, for a number of years, the Indians have demonstrated a dawning awareness of civic responsibilities. They have organized an annual performance of ceremonial dances, at which some of the chiefs' most spectacular and valuable masks and other regalia are used. Admission is charged to these performances, said to be quite well attended, and the entire proceeds are donated to the hospital as a contribution of the Indian community.

INCOME TAX

Canadian Indians, as wards of the Government, and their property on reserves, had never been subject to taxation by either Federal or Provincial Governments. However, in the early years of World War II, an administrative decision was made that Indian commercial fishermen should be considered liable for income tax on the proceeds from their fisheries, presumably on the grounds that such income was not derived from the reserves themselves. The Indians protested vociferously. Many of them got into difficulties from the outset, since, having no experience with the long arm of taxation, they simply neglected to file their returns, which made them liable to stiff fines. The Native Brotherhood discussed the matter at several conventions; as has been remarked it was primarily this issue that led to the fusion of the Brotherhood and the Kwakiutl villages Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association. One particularly sore point was that while, under the new ruling, an Indian fisherman was to be taxed, the Indian farmer or cattleman in the interior, who farmed or grazed his stock on reserve lands, remained exempt from taxation since income produced on a reserve remained tax-free.

The Brotherhood and the P. C. N. F. A. joined forces essentially for the purpose of carrying out Andrew Paull's proposal that they attack

the problem through legal means. The P. C. N. F. A. treasury was comfortably full, and was made available to the Brotherhood, and so legal counsel was sought.

During the following years several lawyers worked on the case. Funds were raised for their retainers and expenses by a special assessment on the membership, which in certain years was as much as $10 per member, over and above regular dues. This procedure did not conflict with the article in the Indian Act prohibiting raising of funds for a suit against the Government, since there were several other legal avenues of approach. One line of strategy that was studied revolved about using the Brotherhood's support to defend some Indian fisherman brought into court on charges of violation of the tax law. Another involved suit against a packing company that withheld tax moneys (although to a nonlegalite like the writer it would seem that this would immediately involve the Government since the company had simply been acting as the Government's agent). Part of the Indian case was believed to rest on a portion of the British North America Act and that section of the Terms of the Union that provided that the Dominion Government should pursue "a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Provincial Government." Many informants quoted this provision, interpreting it to mean that since the Provincial government had not taxed Indians, the Federal Government could not do so. All the arguments sounded like the Allied Tribes land case all over again.

After a number of years during which, some informants aver, the Government delayed the case to prevent its being brought to a hearing (apparently they were talking about the line of strategy involving defense of a test case), the lawyers informed the Brotherhood Executive Committee (in the fall of 1953), that the case could not be defended successfully. The Executive Committee found itself in a quandary. A goodly amount of funds had been raised and spent on the legal study of the problem over the years, and there was considerable feeling among the Indians about the matter. Hence the problem was whether simply to drop the whole thing and to try to explain to the membership why it was a hopeless case, after having drummed up enthusiasm for it for so long, or whether to throw good money after bad by going ahead with at least a token defense, to give the people a show for their money if nothing more. At the time I left the coast early in 1954, no decision had been reached.

The essence of the Indian attitude was that the Indian was entitled to special consideration because he had never been remunerated for the lands of the Province. "It used to be our water and our fish," a number of people told me. It is true that several influential persons in the Brotherhood told me privately that they had come to regard

the whole thing as unfortunate, and bad publicity for the organization, going on to say that, with the typical large Indian families, and the consequent plentiful exemptions, an Indian who had to pay a thousand or two thousand dollars a year in taxes was making enough money so that he could afford it. Such remarks were however rank heresy from the point of view of Brotherhood official policy, and there seemed little likelihood of convincing the membership in general that they were rational appraisals of the situation.

ABORIGINAL CUSTOMS

Abandonment of aboriginal customs never became a plank in the platform of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. There had been a provision in the Indian Act making the potlatch illegal since 1885; enforcement was difficult, especially among the southern Kwakiutl, who persisted doggedly in potlatching despite arrests, confiscation of goods, etc. Agents in the early days had difficulties too, for they could rarely get a Provincial court to convict an Indian on the charge of violating this section of the Indian Act. In 1918, violation was made a summary offense, triable by the Indian agent, so that enforcement became easier. But even this did not deter the Kwakiutl. Some informants relate that they lined up solidly behind Andrew Paull in 1942 not only because of his bold attack on the extension of the Federal income tax law to Indian fishermen, but because he assured them he would attempt to have the prohibition on potlatching repealed.[56] It is obvious that a formal stand by the Brotherhood against the custom would have cost them southern Kwakiutl support.

The northern coast groups, particularly the Tsimshian divisions (Tsimshian, Niska, and Gitksan), had no interest in suppressing the custom. As the result of missionary influence, they abandoned the Dancing Society performances long ago. The mortuary and memorial potlatches (with marble tombstones substituted for totem poles), were continued, quite openly, except that in addition to the chiefs and clan members who received gifts—referred to of course as payments for their services in connection with the funeral, etc.—payments are also made to various modern institutions: to the minister who conducts the funeral service, to the choir if songs are sung at the services, to the village band if it plays while the body is conducted to the cemetery, and so on. Informants seem to assume that these gifts or payments somehow change the character of the performance and legalize it. Clan and tribal secretaries keep minute records of these transactions; I had the privilege of studying the bookkeeping connected with several major potlatches that were given during the 1940's at Port Simpson

[56] The section was dropped from the Revised (1951) Indian Act.

and in the Nass villages. No one seems to regard these affairs as other than perfectly normal and correct.

Just as in Alaska, the clan system seems to operate with full vigor on the northern British Columbia coasts, regulating marriages, and establishing the framework within which the potlatch is carried on. Some Niska informants asserted that an intraclan marriage would absolutely not be permitted in their villages, and while the occasional exception to such sweeping generalizations usually comes to light when one has time to go into the topic, it is clear that there still is a strong feeling against such unions. The clan system apparently has never been made the target of attack by missionaries and administrators.[57] In fine, the whole system of aboriginal customs was differently perceived in British Columbia than in Alaska: it had been adapted to everyone's satisfaction in the north, and was being strongly perpetuated in southern Kwakiutl country, and hence was never presented to the Brotherhood as a theme to be made an issue of, except in the instance, elsewhere cited, of its becoming a local issue between elder and younger generations in certain Gitksan villages.

ACTION POLICY

The principal Brotherhood technique for achieving goals which involve action by the administration has been through petitions transmitted either to the head of the Department of Indian Affairs, or to the Minister of the executive department to which that office is assigned, or sometimes to other Members of Parliament. This of course represents in one sense a continuation of the use of such petitions begun years ago at the suggestion of early missionaries on the coast, and it also represents one of the very few techniques through which a voteless group of people can hope to influence their Government. In recent years there has grown up a policy of attempting to influence officials favorably in two other ways. The first of these is by inviting them to Brotherhood annual conventions where they are given opportunity to address the convention and also to hear the opinions of the Indians on various topics. The second technique has been that of trying to cooperate with officials in every way possible. The work done by the Brotherhood in helping to straighten out confused young Indians as to their duties and the procedures through which they could get exemption from service in the Armed Forces was an example of this. Another example was the recent nomination by the Brother-

[57] I have never been able to learn what specific steps Duncan took against clan organization at Metlakatla, aside from the suppression of all native festivals which would include the important crest displays, and making the people discard all regalia, carvings, and the like. My impression is that he never really attacked the clan system as such, but brought about its disuse through suppressing integrally related phenomena.

hood of individuals who were widely acquainted in various districts to carry out the registration of Indians when the Province granted them the Provincial franchise.

The fact that the Brotherhood has been able to get the ear of responsible officials is due primarily to the fact that it has managed to make itself recognized as a responsible body representing a large segment of the Indian population of British Columbia. This is why incorporation under the Societies Act has proved so very useful. Previously, of course, the organization had been recognized by the fishing industry in connection with its operations in the labor relations field. At present, agencies of both the Federal and Provincial Governments regard it as an established unit that speaks for the Indians. The modern practice of the Canadian Government to consult Indians on proposed legislation which will affect them has improved the position of the organization. The two principal representatives at Brotherhood-Government conferences, Scow and Kelly, have done a good deal to increase the standing of the Brotherhood in the eyes of officialdom. They are both competent men who are able to give good logical presentations of the views of the organization, and they also make a point of avoiding any extremist stands.

The Brotherhood has no active policy in the area of provincial politics. Of course there was nothing they could accomplish in that field prior to their political enfranchisement. It is also true of course that their principal legislative problems are matters which are under the control of the Dominion Government rather than the Province.

Legal action has been resorted to most infrequently except for the very recent income tax case. It seems probable that the long and unsuccessful attempt by the Allied Tribes to win a favorable solution of the land problem may have made the Indians skeptical of the value of this method of procedure. Lack of familiarity with legal recourse is not a reason for this disuse of the courts. A great many Indians are quite familiar with the processes involved in getting legal assistance when needed to defend them. During periods when certain agents were making determined campaigns against the potlatch, the southern Kwakiutl were able to find a number of competent attorneys to help them when hailed into court. Indians have used attorneys frequently in cases involving violations of the liquor laws.

As is indicated elsewhere, in questions of labor relations the Brotherhood's action policy is to all intents and purposes the same as that of any other union group. If there is any difference at all from that of the ordinary labor union, it is the somewhat conservative attitude that characterizes both the Indian membership and their officials who negotiated for them. This attitude pattern seems to stem primarily from two concepts. One of these is the feeling of loyalty toward the canners who for many years have been the only source of credit and

thus have provided the only means through which the individual Indian could better himself financially. The second concept is one frequently expressed which stresses the dependence of the Indian for his livelihood on fishing. It is commonly stated by Indians from the coast that in the case of a strike that lasts most of the fishing season, the white fisherman can get work ashore, whereas the Indian cannot.

As far as the organization's internal policy goes, the most significant feature is that practically all decisions both on action and on policy definition are made by the leaders of the organization—that is, the Executive Committee—with practically no rank-and-file voice. The only exception here is at the time when fish prices are being agreed upon when it is essential that the membership indicate their approval or disapproval of specific offers. Prior to an annual convention the membership at large is not officially advised of the agenda as is customarily done in the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Consequently, there is no such thing as an instructed delegate at the British Columbia Brotherhood conventions. Resolutions are not drawn up in the village meetings prior to the convention for presentation there. At the convention the delegates present resolutions, which are supposed to represent the thinking of the membership in the branches, but which actually may or may not do so. This failure to define the policy of official representatives occurs even on the Executive Committee echelon. Fairly recently when Scow and Kelly were invited to Ottawa for a conference with the Minister of Immigration and Naturalization in connection with proposed revisions to the Indian Act, this committee did not specifically instruct their two delegates, but merely passed a resolution of confidence in their discretion. Of course many of the topics which were expected to be brought up at the conference were ones on which the Executive Committee had long since taken an official stand for the organization as a whole.

One reason for this lack of rank-and-file influence on policy is because of communication difficulties. Many of the villages are isolated and even the district vice presidents cannot or do not visit them frequently. This is true of communications from the top down as well as from the membership upward. A good many members of the organization in the villages do not understand various decisions and plans which are supposed to be organization policy. For example, the status of the income tax case and the procedure by which the Executive was attempting to bring it into court in the winter of 1953-54 were understood by but very few of the rank-and-file. I was given some extremely confused accounts of what was going on. This is true in many other matters as well. For instance, some time within the last few years the Brotherhood and the union jointly won a demand for the creation of a benefit fund by the canners

through the setting aside a certain amount (approximately 1 cent), for each case of salmon. Since fishermen are legally regarded as individual contractors, they are not subject to workmen's compensation benefits. This fund is drawn on to pay survivors in case of death on the fishing grounds and to pay some small benefits in the case of major disaster, such as sinking or burning of the vessel, etc. (This is of course quite apart from the union's own welfare fund.) Since the Brotherhood has no permanent northern office, the union's business agent offered his services in putting in claims, receiving and distributing the benefit checks for members of the Brotherhood in the north as well as for members of his union. This was agreed to by the Brotherhood who considered it an example of courteous cooperation. The result has been, however, that almost none of the northern Indians realize that the Brotherhood had anything to do with getting this arrangement created for its members. Such situations do very little to convince people that the Brotherhood is actively accomplishing anything in their behalf. Probably this lack of communication within the organization is responsible for a great deal of the apathy of the membership on a local level. It is certainly true that in the villages in which there is less than outstanding local leadership, interest in the Brotherhood is consistently weak. This is a principal cause of the financial problems of the organization. Few people will take much pains to pay their dues when they don't know what is being accomplished with their money.

Another sort of procedure that represents a specific policy is the activity of the organization in trying to assist either individual Indians or Indian communities in connection with various problems. One example cited to me concerned the building of a breakwater at Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound. The Nootka had for a long time been petitioning that a breakwater be constructed because there is no near safe anchorage for their boats. The Brotherhood was eventually asked for assistance. It turned out that there was some company doing some major construction work in the region. I neglected to record in my notes whether this work was connected with a logging or a mining enterprise, but at any rate, adequate heavy equipment was available to construct the breakwater. The Brotherhood president and business agent were able to arrange very simply that the structure be built in exchange for the granting of a right-of-way across some local reserve. The point here is that the Indians, especially in the more isolated villages, do not understand the principles and procedures of negotiations, whereas the Brotherhood leaders and business agents with their long experience in fish price negotiations are quite conversant with the techniques. There was no pattern of bargaining in the aboriginal culture. So much has been written about

the emphasis on wealth in prehistoric Northwest Coast civilization that this point is likely to be overlooked. Commodities were bartered and rewards were given for services performed but without setting of close evaluations. If a Northwest Coast chief had a canoe built for him, no price was set in advance for the work. When the canoe was completed or some time thereafter, the chief gave the canoemaker a quantity of wealth goods and typically as large a quantity as was convenient at the time. Even in barter of small objects or foods, while there were rough ideas as to equivalences of value, there was no real, close price setting. The well-known incident at Fort Simpson in which the Haida and the Tsimshian princesses were exchanging halibut for oil provides a nice demonstration of this point. The Tsimshian woman considered the pieces of dried halibut she was being given as awfully small. There was, however, no bargaining that led to compromise on larger pieces of halibut or smaller measures of oil. In fact no solution of the very simple matter was ever arrived at. The affair ended in a savage altercation and finally a pitched battle in which a great number of people were killed. This may be of somewhat lengthy diversion from the main theme of this paragraph, but is worth citing to stress the point that the Brotherhood lends a real service and a very important one to fellow Indians. Such services are often offered to nonmembers of the Brotherhood with the hope of winning their favor and getting them to join the organization. Two members of the Executive Committee made a lengthy trip a few years ago and spent considerable time and effort in trying to assist a group of interior people who fished at the foot of the falls of the Skeena near Moricetown. These falls prevented the weaker species of salmon from ascending the river. Humpbacks and dog salmon congregate at the foot of the falls in great numbers. The Department of the Fisheries resolved to build a fish ladder at this place to permit the salmon to go on up the river. In conjunction with the Office of Indian Affairs, they planned a meeting with the Indians who fished there to work out some procedure for compensating for the loss of this fishing place. They offered several alternatives. One of them which involved permission for Indians to fish according to fixed quotas was regarded by the Brotherhood officers as the most beneficial in the long run. In this particular instance, they were unable to accomplish very much. The interior Indians had grandiose notions of getting a very large cash compensation, despite the fact that they are said to depend very heavily on the drying of salmon for winter food supply. However, the actual outcome in this case is less important here than is the fact that the representatives of the Brotherhood and the organization itself (since their travel was financed by the organization's treasury) went to considerable lengths to try to help them get the best possible solution.

PART 3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing sections relate the individual histories, describe the organizational structures, and list the major goals and policies of the two Indian Brotherhoods. It is important to mention that the list of policies and activities has not been completely exhausted; however, the major ones have been covered. Our next step must be to derive broadly significant conclusions from our data. In many studies which, like the present one, are concerned with acculturational situations and problems of applied anthropology, conclusions seem difficult to extract. It may be that the fact that one is dealing with materials pertaining to modern times and modern problems, with current and live issues, and with living personalities, imposes handicaps on the student of culture. Despite a limited number of honorable exceptions, many studies of this sort fail to yield significant results. The mere tabulating of elements of aboriginal culture that have persisted into modern times never really tells us much; it will not be attempted here since it appears to be so sterile an activity. Various ancient concepts and patterns which are still important to the Indians, and others completely replaced by white ideas and practices, have been mentioned in passing. The important thing about such phenomena is the way in which they have conditioned new attitudes, and how they steer the new hybrid culture into certain channels, sometimes assisting, and sometimes retarding adjustment. The present material, however, offers its own solution to the sort of conclusions which may be derived, which is, obviously, to analyze our data in terms of the success or failure of the organizations to achieve their defined goals. It must be emphasized that no value judgments are involved in this. The appraisal will be comparable to that of the experimental psychologist who analyses the success or failure of the subjects of his experiments to solve certain problems posed them. The point here is that both organizations set themselves certain specific goals. These goals they intended to achieve by use of techniques borrowed from white American and Canadian culture. Their degree of success or lack of it should give us a measure of the native's skill at using the borrowed tools.

Both organizations, the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, were founded in response to the situation of frustration in which the Indians found themselves. In Alaska, white settlers persisted in treating the Indians as though they were stateside reservation Indians of definitely restricted civil

rights, denying them the prerogatives of full and equal citizenship to which the Indians felt they were entitled. In British Columbia the Indians had just lost a long, bitterly if not brilliantly contested suit for the recognition of what they regarded as their basic aboriginal right to the land. In Alaska there was some direct stimulus by white missionaries toward the formation of the organization, and as well the pattern of a successful white organization, the Arctic Brotherhood, which was regarded as just having won its long fight for civil right and law and civil government for the white Alaskans. In British Columbia there had been active missionary influence toward the development of earlier organizations, such as the Nishga Land Committee and the Allied Tribes. There was also the stimulus offered by the Alaska Native Brotherhood itself, which at the time of the founding of the Canadian organization was operating with great apparent success. These various combinations of factors, as might be expected, led to the formation of two very similar organizations. As a consequence, not only the structures of the two groups were very similar, but there were a host of similarities both in early goals and in the approaches to problems.

While we have just said that broadly speaking the formal organizational formations of the two Brotherhoods are much alike, there is considerable differences in detail not only in form but in their operational aspects. The Alaska Native Brotherhood must be regarded as an effectively organized entity. The local units are active and are able to sustain the interest of the rank-and-file membership. A significant factor here is that the local camps are the principal social foci in the villages. The A. N. B. hall is the community center in every case. Since in most of the villages several religious denominations are represented, no church group can compete with the Brotherhood as a community enterprise. It is also quite obvious that considerable thought has been put into tying in activities such as social affairs and athletic events that would interest the younger members of the community. While it is true that greater efficiency might improve the handling of fiscal affairs, such as collection of dues, on the whole the Alaska Native Brotherhood is a well-organized structure. The fact that it has withstood the vicissitudes of factional conflict for years demonstrates its basic strength. The British Columbian organization on the other hand is quite the reverse. It has a well-organized and well-integrated upper echelon, but its local organization is very weak. The local units are comparatively inactive and ineffectively led. In part this may be due to the fact that, in the northern British Columbia coast villages at least, the Brotherhood has had to compete with various older established groups such as local athletic clubs, village brass bands organized in club

fashion, and the like, for community interest. By and large, the Brotherhood is very much in need of active full-time organizers and of programs to build up interest and enthusiasm outside of the annual period of fish-price negotiations. Nothing has been done so far to break down intervillage rivalries and enmities which show through at times, to the detriment of the organization as a whole. The persistence of these attitudes cannot be attributed just to the fact that there were more cultural and linguistic differences and more local antagonisms between various British Columbia villages than there were in southeast Alaska. The Tlingit clans and villages found themselves embroiled in conflicts and bloody wars with each other just as frequently as did the groups to the south. The Alaskan Indians have made much better use of the organization concept than have their neighbors to the south.

In the area of goal and policy, both organizations very early seized on education as a prime need of the Indian. To them all, education represented a sort of royal highway by which the Indian would achieve competence to deal with modern white social and economic development. This concept of education as the one solution to the Indian's problems was obviously taken over, lock, stock, and barrel from the missionary doctrine that it offered the surest road to extinction of aboriginal culture and to the "civilization" of the Indian. One notes that in the early phase of Alaska Native Brotherhood policy, and throughout that of the British Columbia organization's policy formulation, "education for the Indian" was little more than a magic phrase. Very little analytical thought was given to what type of education would best solve the problems. It is true enough in a basic way that literacy, familiarity with simple arithmetic, and so forth, are minimal requirements for dealing with the modern economic world. Beyond that point the stress on education seems uncritical and uncomprehended. The reformulation of A. N. B. policy into an attack on the so-called two-school system was an attempt to combine the goal of education with an attack on the Indian's ambiguous sociopolitical status. Other than this, there was no major change in educational policy. The result therefore points up the lack of effort by the Indians to analyze their problems critically. One feels that they have done little more than parrot the teachings of respected and influential white friends of early days. The A. N. B., principally through the efforts of one outstanding individual, did finally solve its specific (revised) goal—the attack on the two-school system. Since that time, however, it has taken no steps to study the educational needs of the Indians. This is the more striking now since most of the Indian communities operate their own schools as part of the Territorial school system. Nor has

the organization taken any steps to assist the villages in the highly complex problem of financing the operating cost of the school (collecting the necessary local taxes to meet budgets over and above the 85 percent of funds provided by the Territory). If furthering education is considered a real goal of the Brotherhood, the fact that most of the village school boards so consistently operate in the red, unable to raise local revenue to foot the school bills, should be a challenge to the organization. It has, however, been completely ignored. This is so, despite that fact that a committee of influential persons whose opinions would be widely respected could undoubtedly be assembled from the Brotherhood, and be detailed to study village problems and to recommend to village school boards techniques for collecting taxes and for budgeting school costs. The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia has seen its campaign for better schools apparently won. This, however, was accomplished directly by officials of the Federal and Provincial Governments and not by the Brotherhood itself. The most the organization can claim in this regard is an indirect assist as the organization's spokesmen made white friends and officials more conscious of the deficiencies of the old system.

Citizenship status and enfranchisement form another area of keen interest to both organizations. Alaskan Brotherhood leaders and the membership in general regard the Charlie Jones verdict as a signal victory which the organization won. In one sense it may have been a victory at least in so far as it affected the attitudes of white Alaskan neighbors. The real legalization of the Indian's status as a full United States citizen did not come, however, until 1924 with the enactment of Federal legislation. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this legislation was not influenced by the Brotherhood. The subsequent step by Brotherhood leaders of mobilizing the Indian membership to use their newly recognized voting privilege as a political force in Alaska was a major step. It was a step which went a long way to win for the Indian consideration and a considerable degree of respect, albeit reluctantly given, by local whites. This achievement was of course due to the insight and special experience of a few outstanding leaders. The effective use of Alaska Native Brotherhood political power has come to be hampered by the factional dispute within the organization. The case of the Canadian organization differs. Despite years of protest against discrimination, and the Indian's disadvantageous political status, the Brotherhood has never been able to formulate a practicable and workable policy. The old issue of aboriginal rights which was developed during the Allied Tribes period has obtruded and confused the issue consistently. Even the leaders of the organization have never gotten beyond the unrealistic attitudes of wanting to hold all the privileges of citizenship,

but none of the concomitant duties and responsibilities. The official stand on military service and payment of income tax reflects this thinking. The so-called Maori Plan, understood in all its implications by very few, appealed for a time as a way to get both the franchise and retain the aboriginal rights. It is of course clear that obtaining the Provincial franchise was not due to the Brotherhood's efforts but was almost forced on the Indian by white British Columbians.

The Alaska Native Brotherhood's early stress on abandonment of aboriginal customs was one of its least successful programs and one which, as a result of its failure, has been pretty well dropped. The noteworthy aspect of this policy is the fact that the opinions and attitudes of early-day missionaries were taken in toto with no attempt to evaluate or appraise them. The potlatch was made the target of attack without regard to the fact of its integral functional relationship to the clan-moiety system. As long as that system continues to exist, the moiety reciprocity, of which the potlatch is one form of expression among the Tlingit and Haida, will continue. It is difficult to see how this point escaped the early missionaries, and still more to see how it escaped the Indians themselves who knew what they were doing. Yet by uncritically following the missionary line the A. N. B. failed so signally that it had to modify its stand to the point where it now evades the issue entirely.

In the field of labor relations there is of course a vast difference in the ways in which the two Brotherhoods operate and in the degree of success they have achieved. The Canadian Brotherhood got into labor relations almost by chance. This phase of activity did not become of major importance until the organization expanded southward to take in the well functioning Kwakiutl P. C. N. F. A. This field has, however, become the most successful area of operations for the British Columbia Brotherhood, despite the fact that it cannot quite hold its own against the white union. In fact, since the grassroots organization is so weak the labor relations activity is a primary factor in holding the Brotherhood together. Local rivalry and memories of hereditary antagonisms would in all likelihood have shattered the organization long since, were it not for the common and mutual interest of the Indians in the fish price negotiations. At the same time the labor relations activity has acted to inhibit expansion of the organization into the interior primarily because of the great emphasis put on economic problems of the coast people. The Alaska Native Brotherhood entered the labor relations field temporarily in an attempt to strengthen its position. Its failure was principally due to factional rivalry.

The British Columbia Indians were barred from making the land question one of their principal issues as they undoubtedly would

have liked to do. In Alaska the Brotherhood had the opportunity of serving its membership by handling this problem as one of its major issues. Complete failure to come to any accord on the matter made it impossible for the organization to act. Factionism entered the picture somewhat, but conflicting local interests and attitudes which could not be solved made any sort of success impossible. If the Indian land claims are ever legally sanctioned it will be the result of the efforts of a few individuals and the final outcome, whatever it may be, will probably not please more than a few.

To revert from these specific targets and goals to more fundamental policy concepts, in both organizations the implicit original aim was to detribalize and to deculturalize the Indian as rapidly as possible, making him into a "white man." This was of course a solution for the Indian problem borrowed intact from early-day missionaries and administrators of Indian affairs in the United States and Canada. The theme was most clearly expressed in such original A. N. B. policies as those stressing ability to speak English as a requisite for membership, the emphasis on abandonment of ancient customs, and the numerous associations of Christian religious forms. This goal has not been even approximately obtained by either organization. In British Columbia a long series of factors obviously produced this outcome. Prominent among these factors is the administrative pattern of reservations, the granting of various sorts of special prerogatives (the aboriginal rights referring to hunting and fishing for domestic use, etc.), and the recently added health and welfare benefits made available by a benevolent administration. These factors have operated in the same way that similar factors have affected modern Makah culture, as Colson (1953) has brilliantly demonstrated. It is clear that they have simultaneously made it worth while to continue to be an Indian, and have reinforced public consciousness, both Indian and white, of the racial and social differences between the two peoples. From a point of view of applied anthropology one could scarcely hope to devise a program more likely to succeed in creating or bolstering ethnocentrism. The existence of the Brotherhood itself, an important organization whose membership is based on racial ties, obviously contributes to this awareness of race. Other usages, particularly those regarded by the Indian as discriminatory, such as the inability to buy or possess liquor legally, the lack of the Dominion franchise, and other legal disadvantages contribute to the same feeling. In Alaska the case is markedly different. The Tlingit and Haida have never been reservation Indians. No matter what abstruse interpretations legal minds may devise, the Indians themselves have never accepted the idea of being in a wardship status. They have never admitted that they had any less rights than any other United States citizens. Unlike their Can-

adian neighbors, they have never claimed any special rights. They obey the same game laws as white men or pay the same fines if they break them. They pay their taxes when they can, and do their military service like any other good citizen. A whole generation has grown up since the right to vote has been an issue. The question of land rights and titles exists, but white Alaskans also have difficulty, so they claim, in getting valid titles in a territory where 99 percent of the land is public domain. Consequently, there must be other forces at work which have defeated the goal of detribalizing the Tlingit and Haida. Several points come to mind. One of the first is that mentioned as a minor factor in connection with the British Columbia situation: the fact that the major organization, the Alaska Native Brotherhood itself, is made up on racial lines. The political activity of the Brotherhood of course also has a racial slant. It stresses the idea that the Indians if they acted as a united group could wield political power in the Territory, and implicitly treated them as a special interest group. Another factor must have been the question of discrimination. Although the Indian through the Brotherhood organization found a solution for that problem, at least insofar as business dealings with whites go, discrimination must undoubtedly have accented race consciousness during the many years that it was practiced. And finally there is a factor deriving particularly from all the foregoing and particularly as well from characteristic attitude patterns of aboriginal days. This is the typical fierce pride of the Northwest Coast Indian: his pride in himself as a man, and his pride in his clan, which was sometimes extended to his village or "tribe." This attitude seems to have come to be extended to a racial pride in being an Indian as opposed to being a white man. Although among themselves local rivalries and conflicts still bulk large, in situations involving both whites and Indians the Indians resolutely support each other. In this pride in being an Indian there is also a strong element of antagonism for the whites. De Laguna (1947) has commented on the strong anti-white feeling prevalent at Klukwan. This attitude may be most marked among the Chilkat, but some degree may be found in every Indian community in southeast Alaska. The principal difference from village to village is a variation in the willingness to accept some individual whites as people with good intentions and no ulterior motives. The significant point seems to be that these various factors are primary in Alaska and secondary in British Columbia, but in both instances have contributed to the defeat of the goal of turning Indians into detribalized "white men."

The overall picture is that neither organization has actually attained many of the goals it has set for itself. In other words neither Brotherhood can properly claim a great deal of success. Considera-

tion suggests that this is the result of the nature and concepts of the goals themselves, rather than the methods of attack on them. A noteworthy feature is that there have been few changes of defined policy since the organization's early days. The major part of the principal issues of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia are the same as those of the earlier Allied Tribes. William and Louis Paul gave new direction to the Alaska Native Brotherhood in the 1920's but there have been few changes since, except for those that were forced on the organization from without, and these externally imposed problems such as that of the I. R. A., Alaskan land claims, etc., have not been handled efficaciously by the Brotherhood. The failure to see new problems was common to both Brotherhoods and represents a major defect in their operation. Mention has already been made of the serious need of the Tlingit villages for assistance in operating their schools and the fact that the Alaska Native Brotherhood has not taken up this topic. Many other similar modern-day problems could be mentioned. The tendency has been to take old slogans, such as "education for the Indian" and then harp on them without analyzing them in detail from the Indian point of view.

Yet all this does not mean that the organizations have not contributed to acculturation and cultural adjustment, although they may not have done so in just the precise ways they intended to. The organizations have done a great deal to better the Indian's status by demonstrating to whites that the Indian can unite for political or economic purposes and can become a force to be reckoned with. They have thus made the Indian more important in his modern local world. The organizations have also given Indian leaders the opportunity to learn to deal with white officials and businessmen on even terms, and have made whites learn to respect the Indian's ability at the conference table. Moreover by bolstering the Indian's racial pride, though thereby defeating the aim of detribalizing him, it seems most probable that the Brotherhoods will in the long run contribute to his advancement as a self-respecting member of the Alaskan and British Columbian communities. This must be counted a definite gain as opposed to the other course of letting him drift off into becoming a dislocated segment of the population, of nonwhite physical type, insecure and belonging nowhere, as would have happened eventually if the detribalizing goal of early administrators and missionaries, and the early policies of the Brotherhoods themselves, had been achieved.

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APPENDIX 1

ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD CONSTITUTIONS OF GRAND AND SUBORDINATE CAMPS

1917–1918

SITKA, ALASKA[1]

GRAND CAMP CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. Purpose

The purpose of this organization shall be to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world, to oppose, discourage, and overcome the narrow injustice of race prejudice, and to aid in the development of the Territory of Alaska, and in making it worthy of a place among the States of North America.

ARTICLE II. Eligibility

Those eligible to membership shall be the English speaking members of the Native residents of the Territory of Alaska.

ARTICLE III. The Grand Camp

The Grand Camp shall be composed of the officers of the Grand Camp, the Chairmen of the Subordinate Camps, the past Grand Presidents, the past Chairmen of the Subordinate Camps, and three delegates from each Subordinate Camp.

ARTICLE IV. Officers

The officers of the Grand Camp shall be a Grand President, a Grand Vice President, Grand Secretary, Assistant Grand Secretary, Grand Treasurer, Grand Sergeant at Arms, and Grand Council with as many members as there are Subordinate Camps.

ARTICLE V. Duties of Officers

SECTION 1. The duty of the Grand President shall be to preside at the Sessions of the Grand Camp and to exercise a general supervision of the work of the Grand Officers.

SECTION 2. The duty of the Grand Vice President shall be to perform the duties of the Grand President in his disability or at his request.

SECTION 3. It shall be the duty of the Grand Secretary to keep the records of the Grand Camp and to conduct such correspondence as he shall be directed to perform by the Grand President of the Grand Camp.

[1] Copied from printed copy; original edition, 1st Constitution.

SECTION 4. It shall be the duty of the Assistant Grand Secretary to perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Grand Secretary.

SECTION 5. The Grand Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Grand Camp and shall file a report for the Grand Camp with the Grand Secretary at least 2 weeks before each session of the Grand Camp.

SECTION 6. It shall be the duty of the Sergeant at Arms to perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Grand Camp, the Grand President, or the Grand Council.

SECTION 7. The authority of the Grand Camp shall be vested in the Grand Council between the sessions of that body.

SECTION 8. The Grand Officers shall serve for 1 year and shall be elected annually at the sessions of the Grand Camp except the Assistant Grand Secretary who shall be appointed by the Grand Secretary and shall serve at his pleasure.

ARTICLE VI. Conventions

The annual convention shall be held on the second Monday in November at a place designated by the preceding annual convention.

ARTICLE VII. Revenues

The admission fee shall be $10, of which $1 shall be sent to the Grand Secretary to be transmitted to the Grand Treasurer for the use of the Grand Camp. The membership dues shall be 50 cents per month, half of which shall be sent to the Grand Secretary to be transmitted to the Grand Treasurer for the use of the Grand Camp.

ARTICLE VIII. Committees

The following shall be the standing committees of the Grand Camp, each of three members, Auditing and Finance; Constitution; Ritual; Benefits, Citizenship for Natives.

ARTICLE IX. Charters

Twelve applicants shall be necessary to secure a charter for a subordinate camp.

ARTICLE X. Bonds

The Grand Treasurer and the Subordinate Treasurers shall give bond in the sum of $_____.

ARTICLE XI. Amendments

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the Grand Camp by a majority vote of the members present, provided that the proposed amendments are submitted to the subordinate camp at least thirty (30) days prior to the meeting of the convention of the Grand Camp.

[Note here states: "Continued on page eight," which contains the Bylaws]

SUBORDINATE CAMP CONSTITUTION ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

SECTION 1. This Camp shall be known as _____ (Name of Town) Subordinate Camp, Alaska Native Brotherhood.

SECTION 2. This Camp is subordinate to the Grand Camp of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, and all laws made by it are binding on this camp.

SECTION 3. No applicant shall be admitted to membership except at a regular meeting by a majority vote, and then only when the application has been received at a previous meeting.

SECTION 4. Any member guilty of misconduct may be expelled by a majority vote of the members. If the offense takes place in a meeting of the camp the member may be suspended or expelled at the same meeting where the offense occurs, but if the offense is committed otherwise, the member shall be given a trial after a week's notice. A member expelled cannot again become a member except by unanimous consent.

SECTION 5. The officers of this Camp shall be Chairman, Vice Chairman, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, and a Camp Council composed of three members.

SECTION 6. It shall be the duty of the chairman to preside at all meetings. He shall be ex officio member of all committees. The Vice Chairman shall perform the duties of the Chairman in his absence or disability. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Camp under its direction; the recording secretary shall keep the minutes of the meeting; financial secretary shall receive the dues of the members, giving his receipt therefor. He shall turn all moneys over to the treasurer who shall keep the accounts of the members of the Camp. The financial secretary and the treasurer shall make annual reports at the first meeting in November of each year. The financial secretary shall at each meeting make a written report of all moneys received at that meeting. The council shall have the general care and custody of the property of the Camp, and shall have all the powers of the Camp requiring immediate attention when the camp is not in session. All officers shall serve for 1 year and until their successors are elected. The annual election shall be held at the first regular meeting after the new year.

SECTION 7. The admission fee shall be ten dollars ($10.00), and the annual dues shall be six dollars ($6.00) payable quarterly. Any member failing to pay his dues for the year by the first regular meeting in November shall stand suspended and shall be deprived of all rights of membership while so suspended. He shall be reinstated on the receipt of his dues and by a majority vote of the members present at any regular meeting.

SECTION 8. Six members in good standing shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any regular meeting.

SECTION 9. The Subordinate Camp Constitution shall not be amended except by a majority vote of the Grand Camp. Bylaws may be adopted not inconsistent herewith, if the same are approved by the Grand President and Grand Secretary.

SECTION 10. ORDER OF BUSINESS:

1. Meeting called to order by chairman.
2. Reading of minutes of previous meeting.
3. Collection of dues (five minute recess.)
4. Reading of communications and bills.
5. Unfinished business.
6. Reports of Committees.
7. New Business.
8. For the good of the Camp.

SECTION 11. The following standing committees composed of three members each shall be elected at the annual meeting each year: Finance and Auditing Committee whose duty shall be to audit the reports of the officers and recommend plans for the raising of money, and the care of the Camp funds; a Lecture Committee who shall endeavor to secure lectures at intervals on various

subjects; a Benefit Committee who shall look after the interests of all members as may be required of the Camp; Citizenship Committee who shall endeavor to get as many members to secure certificates allowing them to vote.

BY-LAWS

ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

(1) Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority on parliamentary law in both the grand and the subordinate camps.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

(2) All standing committees shall make their reports at the annual convention of the Grand Camp.

Written and verbal reports from each subordinate camp shall be made to the Grand Camp at each annual convention.

(3) ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Meeting shall be called to order by Grand President.
2. Invocation.
3. Roll call.
4. Reading of minutes of the previous meetings or convention.
5. Election of Officers for ensuing year.
6. Unfinished business.
7. Reports of Committees.
8. New business.
9. Good of Grand and Subordinate Camps.
10. All dues shall be collected.

APPENDIX 2

CONSTITUTION
ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD AND SISTERHOOD
1948

CONSTITUTION
ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD
GRAND CAMP

Article I. Purpose

The purpose of this organization shall be to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his Native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world, to oppose, to discourage, and to overcome the narrow injustice of race prejudice, to commemorate the fine qualities of the Native races of North America, to preserve their history, lore, art, and virtues, to cultivate the morality, education, commerce, and civil government of Alaska, to improve individual and municipal health and laboring conditions, and to create a true respect in Natives and in other persons with whom they deal for the letter and spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Article II. Eligibility

Those eligible for full membership shall be the descendants of the aboriginal races of North America. Persons not such descendants but married into such races are eligible for full membership and all its rights and duties except that of holding a Grand Office.

Article III. The Grand Camp

The Grand Camp will be composed of the Executive Committee, the Grand Officers of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Grand Officers of the Alaska Native Sisterhood, the Chairmen of each subordinate camp and two specially elected delegates (three specially elected delegates if the chairman does not attend convention), from the Alaska Native Brotherhood and also from the Alaska Native Sisterhood. The Grand Camp shall have power to formulate policies for the year following its meeting within this Constitution, and to

appropriate money for the execution of such policies. No member of the Grand Camp absent from the Convention shall be permitted to vote.

Article IV. Officers

The Officers of the Grand Camp shall be a President, a First and other Vice Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary without vote to be appointed by the Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sergeant at Arms, and the Past Grand Presidents.

Article V. Duty of Officers

Sec. 1. The Grand President shall preside at the sessions of the Convention, at Executive Committee meetings, and shall exercise a general supervision over the Grand Officers, and shall be ex officio a member of all committees.

Sec. 2. The Vice Grand President shall perform the duties of the Grand President in his absence, his disability or at his special request shall perform duties as district organizer. The number of vice presidents shall be determined at each convention.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Grand Camp, its Conventions, and Executive Committee meetings, and conduct all necessary correspondence of those bodies. He may appoint one or more assistants and assign them secretarial duties. He shall remind the subordinate camps of their obligations to the Grand Camp. In case of his absence or disability, the Grand President may appoint an Acting Secretary.

Sec. 4. The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Grand Camp and shall file a report with the Secretary at each convention or at the direction of the President. He shall keep the collection and expenditure of funds up to date to carry out the directions of the Convention and Executive Committee and shall make monthly reports to each subordinate camp and members of the Executive Committee with the assistance of the Secretary.

Sec. 5. The Sergeant at Arms shall perform such duties as are usual to his office or by direction of the Grand President. The Assistant Sergeant at Arms shall be the person who is sergeant at arms at the local camp at which the convention meets.

Sec. 6. The Executive Committee shall consist of all Past Grand Presidents, and also of all the other Grand Officers of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Grand President of the Sisterhood duly elected for the ensuing year serving as members of the Committee and to remain as members until their successors qualify. It shall act for the Grand Camp when the convention is not in session, but shall have no power to set aside the expressed will of the Convention, and at all times shall, when the convention is not in session, be governed by the resolutions and motions passed by the convention and such other instructions as they may receive from the Grand Camp: *Provided, however*, That the committee shall have power to act for the best interests of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in any clear emergency. The Grand President shall be chairman. A quorum of the Committee to do business shall be five of its members. After reasonable notice, the Committee shall meet in person every three months or oftener; but in case a quorum cannot be secured, the entire committee may meet by letter or telegraphic communication.

Sec. 7. The Grand Officers shall serve for one year and shall be elected annually at each convention; but shall hold office until their successors are duly elected and qualified, except that assistant secretaries shall serve at the pleasure of the Grand Secretary. In case the convention does not meet, the Executive Committee at a regular meeting thereof may elect successors.

Sec. 8. The Grand President and Grand Vice President, of the ANS shall be elected in the same manner and time as the Executive Officers of the ANB.

ARTICLE VI. Conventions

The annual convention shall be held on the second Monday in November or at such other time and place as may be determined by the preceding annual convention. The convention year shall end on the following Saturday. The year of each local camp shall end in October preceding the Convention.

ARTICLE VII. Dues; Supporting the Grand Camp

SEC. 1. The annual dues shall be not less than $6.00 and a $4.00 increase is made in the bargaining agency dues, per year, of which 50% shall be considered Grand Camp dues and shall be forwarded to the Grand Treasurer without delay. All dues shall be payable in advance on or before July 1. Members may be exempt from payment of dues while receiving a Territorial pension. The only valid evidence of membership shall be a receipt in the form prescribed by the Grand Treasurer. No local camp shall be in good standing while its financial report or its payment of Grand Camp dues is delinquent after the second day of the Convention.

SEC. 2. No person shall be allowed under any condition whatever to take part in any meeting of any subordinate camp or Grand Camp except under the title "For the Good of the Order"; nor shall any member receive any benefits from the treasury for any disability arising during a delinquent period; nor shall any person be elected to office while delinquent. If any officer becomes delinquent, his office shall be declared vacant by the Grand President on notice or by the subordinate camp itself if the point of order is raised. No receipt or other evidence of membership shall be issued until actual cash in full has been received, or valid assignment (order on account) made by member and accepted by employer of good financial responsibility. Annually on July 1, the financial secretary, or business agents at isolated canneries, shall forward from his camp to the Grand Secretary a complete list of his camp's membership showing members in good standing, delinquent, transferred, reinstated, or died.

SEC. 3. Any member delinquent for more than 2 years and not participating in any meetings, may be reinstated upon offering his or her application in writing for reinstatement together with a sum equal to two past years dues. Upon the affirmative vote of the subordinate camp, the delinquent member shall be considered in good standing.

SEC. 4. No person shall be a member of more than one camp at a time, but members may transfer to another camp without additional charge.

ARTICLE VIII. Committees

The following shall be the standing committees of the Grand Camp to be appointed by the Committee on Committees: Auditing and Finance; Constitution; Ritual and Grand Ball; Benefits and Gifts; Citizenship; and Health and Education. The Committee on Committees, the Committee on Credentials, special committees, and the chairmen of the Ways and Means Committee, and the Fisheries Committee shall be appointed by the Grand President.

ARTICLE IX. Charters

Twelve applicants shall be necessary to secure a charter for a subordinate camp of the ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD; and a number equal to a quorum shall be necessary to retain such charter. When a petition is presented and the proper dues tendered, the Grand Secretary shall issue a charter upon securing the signature of the Grand President.

ARTICLE X. Bonds of Treasurer; Certain Loans Forbidden

SEC. 1. The Grand Treasurer shall give satisfactory bond in a sum to be determined by the Executive Committee, the premium of which shall be paid by the Grand Treasury.

SEC. 2. The subordinate camps shall determine the matter of bonds for their local treasurers, first whether to require a bond; second the amount.

SEC. 3. No local camp, or the Grand Camp or any officer of either, shall make any loan of money or property under any circumstances whatsoever, upon penalty of the treasurer becoming personally liable immediately. But a local Camp may loan money or other property to the Grand Camp.

ARTICLE XI. When Office may be Declared Vacant

Whenever any officer shall absent himself or herself from four consecutive meetings of the subordinate camp without good cause, his office shall be declared vacant by the Chairman, or on a point of order raised by any qualified member. The subordinate camp shall then proceed to fill the office by election the same as at the annual election. The new officer shall then secure all books, money and other property from the vacating officer. "Good cause" shall be determined by the ballot of the camp. When the question is put, it shall be in this form, "Resolved that . . . has been absent from four consecutive meetings without good cause." The fact of such four consecutive absences shall be determined from the record of attendance. A short statement of the officer's excuse shall be spread on the minutes.

ARTICLE XII. Honorary and Associate Membership

SEC. 1. Persons not eligible to full membership under Article II, may become associate members upon receiving the unanimous vote of a subordinate camp, provided that his application must have been submitted in writing with a render of the dues at least one regular meeting prior thereto. Upon election, such person shall have the privileges of a full member in the collective bargaining agency. Such a person may be elected critic if such an office be created by the local camp. The dues shall be the same as for an active member and subject to the same rules.

SEC. 2. Persons may be elected an Honorary member of the Grand Camp at any annual Convention or at a meeting of the Executive Committee on the motion of a member thereof, provided the vote shall be by ballot and shall be unanimous. The annual dues of such a member shall be Ten Dollars per year which shall be paid into the Grand Treasury.

ARTICLE XIII. Amendments.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the Grand Camp by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided that the proposed amendment is submitted to the subordinate camp at least 30 days prior to the meeting of the said convention. Or such amendment may be adopted by the majority vote of the Convention without previous notice to the local camps, if two-thirds of the local camps shall thereafter ratify such action of the Convention.

BYLAWS OF THE ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

(1) Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority on parliamentary law in both the Grand and subordinate Camps.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

(2) All standing committees shall make their reports at the annual convention of the Grand Camp.

Written and verbal reports from each subordinate camp shall be made to the Grand Camp at each annual convention.

(3) ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Meetings shall be called to order by the Grand President.
2. Invocation.
3. Roll Call.
4. Reading of Minutes of the Preceding Meeting or Convention
5. Election of Officers for Ensuing Year.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. Reports of Committees.
8. New Business.
9. Good of Grand and Subordinate Camps.
10. All Dues Shall Be Collected.

SUBORDINATE CAMP CONSTITUTION ALASKAN NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

SECTION 1. This Camp shall be known as _____(Name of Town) Subordinate Camp, Alaska Native Brotherhood.

SEC. 2. This Camp is subordinate to the Grand Camp of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and all laws made by it are binding on this camp.

SEC. 3. No applicant shall be admitted to membership except at a regular meeting by a majority vote, and then only when the application has been received at a previous meeting.

SEC. 4. Any member guilty of misconduct may be expelled by a majority vote of the members. If the offense takes place in a meeting of the camp, the member may be suspended or expelled at the meeting where the offense occurs; but if the offense is committed otherwise, the member shall be given a trial after a week's notice. A member expelled cannot again become a member except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 5. The officers of this Camp shall be Chairman, Vice Chairman, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer and a Camp Council composed of three members.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the chairman to preside at all meetings. He shall be ex officio a member of all committees. The Vice Chairman shall perform the duties of the Chairman in his absence or disability. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Camp under its directions; the Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings; Financial Secretary shall receive the dues of the members, giving his receipt therefor. He shall turn all moneys over to the treasurer, who shall keep the accounts of the members of the Camp. The financial secretary and the treasurer shall make annual reports at the first meeting in November of each year. The financial secretary shall, at each meeting make a written report of all moneys at that meeting. The council shall have the general care and custody of the property of the Camp, and shall have all the powers of the camp in matters requir-

ing immediate attention when the camp is not in session. All officers shall serve for one year and until their successors are elected. The annual election shall be held at the first regular meeting after the new year.

SEC. 7. The admission fee shall be ten dollars ($10.00) and the annual dues shall be six dollars ($6.00), payable quarterly. Any member failing to pay his dues for the year by the first regular meeting in November shall stand suspended and shall be deprived of all rights of membership while so suspended. He shall be reinstated on the receipt of his dues and by a majority vote of the members present at any regular meeting.

SEC. 8. The following benefits shall be paid only to a member in good standing, who shall be paid:

(a) Nothing for any sickness or injury that does not disable the member for two weeks or more.

(b) At the rate of ten dollars ($10.00) per month for any sickness or injury that lasts two weeks or more, but such payment shall not be made for a period longer than six months.

(c) The local Camp shall not contribute more than forty dollars toward the funeral expenses of any member.

Nothing in this section shall prohibit the local camp from going to the relief of a needy brother before the end of two weeks, or at a greater rate than ten dollars per month, or from buying a coffin costing more than forty dollars, or incurring other funeral expenses greater than forty dollars, but such deviation from this Constitution must be as the personal contribution of the members.

The Treasurer is hereby forbidden to pay out any benefits or any money for benefits except in strict compliance with clauses (a), (b), and (c), and if the Treasurer departs from the strict terms of this section, such treasurer shall make up this amount to the local camp.

SEC. 9. It shall be unlawful for any camp to lend money on any pretense or for any excuse whatever to any member of the local Camp; but money paid out under section 8 above shall not be considered a loan.

SEC. 10. Six members in good standing shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any regular meeting.

SEC. 11. The subordinate Camp Constitution shall not be amended except by a majority vote of the Grand Camp. Bylaws may be adopted not inconsistent herewith, if the same are approved by the Grand President and Grand Secretary.

SEC. 12. ORDER OF BUSINESS:

1. Meeting called to order by Chairman.
2. Reading of minutes of preceding meeting.
3. Collection of dues. (Five minutes recess.)
4. Unfinished business.
5. Reports of Committees.
6. New business.
7. For the good of the Camp.

SEC. 13. The following standing committees composed of three members each shall be elected at the annual meeting each year: Finance and Auditing Committee whose duty shall be to audit the report of the officers and recommend plans for the raising of money and the care of the Camp funds, a Lecture Committee who shall endeavor to secure lectures at intervals on various subjects, a Benefit Committee who shall look after the interests of all members as may be required of the Camp, Citizenship Committee who shall endeavor to get as many members to exercise their privilege of voting as possible.

CONSTITUTION FOR THE SISTERS OF THE ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

ARTICLE I. Purpose

The purpose of this organization is to complete the organization of the ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD and thus aid in the fight for the progress of better citizenship, pure lives, a complete education for our children, and for business independence.

ARTICLE II. Name

The name of this organization shall be ALASKA NATIVE SISTERHOOD.

ARTICLE III. Who May Join

Any female person may become a member by applying to a local Camp and receiving the unanimous vote of that local Camp the meeting following receipt of her application; providing that the right to vote and to hold office shall be restricted only to those of Indian descent, and members of the local Camp in good standing.

ARTICLE IV. Delegates to Convention

The delegates to the annual convention shall elect the following officers who shall thereafter constitute the Grand Camp Auxiliary to the Grand Camp of the ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD, to wit: President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer.

2. The President of the local Camp shall also be the local member of the Grand Council.

3. The Grand Council shall consist of the Presidents of all the local Camps and shall have full and supreme authority except when this organization is sitting in annual convention.

ARTICLE V. Duties of Officers

The duties of the officers shall be the usual duties as designated by the office itself and further explained by Robert's Rules of Order except that the Grand Treasurer shall file a report with the Grand Secretary at least two weeks before the annual convention.

All officers shall serve for one year or until their successors qualify.

ARTICLE VI. Revenues

The admission fee shall be two dollars, which money shall be sent to the Grand Treasurer for Grand Camp expenses.

The membership dues shall be three dollars per year, of which one dollar shall be sent to the Grand Treasury for the above uses.

ARTICLE VII. Charters

Ten applicants shall be necessary to secure a charter for a local camp of this organization.

ARTICLE VIII. Quorum

A quorum shall consist of seven members.

ARTICLE IX. Meetings

Meetings shall be held regularly but need not be weekly. SPECIAL MEETINGS may be called by the President or at the written request of three active members.

ARTICLE X. Amendments

Amendments to this constitution may be made by a majority vote of all the delegates at the annual convention or by the Grand Council; providing, however, that the amendment has been submitted to all the local Camps at a regular meeting at least thirty days prior to the vote.

BYLAWS OF THE LOCAL CAMP—ALASKA NATIVE SISTERHOOD

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority on parliamentary law.

2. The officers of the local Camp shall be President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, Sergeant at Arms, and critic.

3. The officers shall be elected from members in good standing eligible to vote, except that the critic may be any person selected by the local Camp.

4. The duties of the local officers shall be prescribed by Robert's Rules of Order, except that the critic shall be required to criticize favorably or unfavorably any person and in any manner for the good of the order, and the person criticized shall submit gracefully.

5. Each local Camp shall appoint the following committees—Citizenship; auditing; school; improved home life; social. The CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE shall study ways of advancing the cause of good citizenship among the members. The AUDITING COMMITTEE shall go over the books of the treasurer every month and shall actually count the cash. The SCHOOL COMMITTEE shall see that every child of school age attends school during the entire year, and if any child is taken away from school this committee shall go to the government school teacher and demand that the teacher take action prescribed by Chapter 44 of the Session Laws of Alaska for 1913, or any changes or amendments to it. The IMPROVED HOME LIFE COMMITTEE shall make a report to the local Camp of each home that needs improvement in matters of health, cleanliness, orderliness, etc. The person criticized shall accept the criticism without comment and in a friendly way and shall be required to report at the next meeting that she has made the improvement recommended. The SOCIAL COMMITTEE shall work under the instructions of the local Camp.

6. No BENEFITS shall be paid by the local Camp, but this shall not prevent the members from assisting the needy or unfortunate.

7. It shall be unlawful to lend any member any money from the treasury.

8. The OFFICIAL RIBBON of this organization shall be WHITE and ROYAL BLUE.

9. Each local Camp may add to these by-laws by a majority vote of the local Camp, but the above by-laws shall not be changed except in the manner provided under ARTICLE X.

10. Order of Business.

1. Meeting called to order by the President.
2. Invocation.
3. Reading of minutes of previous meeting.
4. Unfinished business.
5. Reports: Treasurer;
   Auditing Committee;
   Improved Home Life Committee;
   School Committee;
   Social Committee;
   Special Committees.
6. New business.
7. For the good of the Order.

The order of business may be changed at the will of the President providing however that no regular meeting shall be held without the reading of the minutes and the report from the Treasurer.

OATH OF OFFICE OF MEMBERSHIP

The oath may be administered by any person authorized to do so by the convention or assembly or appointed by the President.

(Hold up your right hand.)

"Do you solemnly promise and swear that you will support the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that you will support and abide by the Constitution and bylaws of the ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD and that you will set an example for the members of the ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD, walking before them in all humility and love, and subordinating yourself to the wishes and welfare of this organization?"

(The new officer or officers must now answer "I do.")

"Do you take this obligation promising to look to your Heavenly Father for wisdom and strength to keep you steadfast?"

(The new officer or officers must again answer "I do.")

The taking of the above oath of office may be followed by prayer which shall be offered by the person administering the oath or by someone else at his request.

APPENDIX 3

CONSTITUTION: NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

1931–32

Preamble

WHEREAS, we the Natives of British Columbia, owing to the keen competition in our efforts for an existence, the time has come when we must organize for the betterment of our conditions, socially, mentally and physically. To keep in closer communication with one another to cooperate with each other and with all the authorities, for to further the interests of the Natives.

Hence we organize as the NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA whose objective will be, to stimulate and increase learning among our natives, to place them on equal footing to meet the ever increasing competition of our times.

To cooperate with all who have at heart the welfare of the natives and to cooperate with the Government and its officials for the betterment of all conditions surrounding the life of the native.

BYLAWS

1. That this organization be known as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia.
2. The powers of this organization shall be Legislative, Executive and Judicial, in such times as the Convention shall from time to time dictate, and all members shall be governed by such constitutions and laws adopted at these conventions.
3. In order that [there be] better unity this organiaztion shall have power to establish branches in all native villages for the purpose of this organization.
4. Conventions shall be held annually and at such times and places as the previous convention shall decide. Delegates shall be appointed from each _____ branch. The President, General Secretary and General Treasurer shall attend all conventions.
5. Conventions shall pass on all credentials and audit all books, elect officers, and prepare resolutions and all matters pertaining to the business of the Brotherhood.
6. Officers of the Brotherhood shall consist of President, Vice-President, General Secretary, General Treasurer, Recording Secretary, and an Executive Committee to be elected, two from each village of the Brotherhood.
7. Duties of the officers will be: President shall preside over all meetings of the convention and all executive meetings and shall direct the policy of the organization, as agreed on at the convention and executive meeting.

   First Vice-President, in event of the Office of President be vacant to fill same, and to have full executive powers.

The General Secretary, to attend all conventions, to keep all the accounts and records of the General organization, to be empowered to receive and expend monies on behalf of the organization.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Organization. All monies received by the officers of the Brotherhood shall be deposited in his care. The Recording Secretary shall take and keep all records of all meetings.

The membership fees shall be fifty cents (50¢) per annum, for the year 1931-32, until next Convention and this fee be paid to the general fund.

[Signed]
E. F. DUDOWARD,
Chairman, Convention, 1931–32.

[Signed]
Wm. Beynon,
Gen. Sec. Convention

APPENDIX 4

SOCIETIES ACT DECLARATION

WHEREAS, we, the Natives of British Columbia, owing to the keen competition in our efforts for existence, feel the time has come when we must organize for the betterment of our conditions, socially, spiritually, economically and physically, and in order to keep in closer communication with each other, to cooperate with one another and with the authorities to further the interests of the Natives, we, the undersigned, hereby declare that we desire to form a society under the Societies Act, and that,—

1. The name of the Society is "The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia."
2. The object of the Society is—
   (a) To work for the betterment of the conditions, socially, spiritually, economically, and physically, of its members.
   (b) To encourage and bring about communication and cooperation of its members.
   (c) To cooperate with the Government and its officials, and with all those who have at heart the welfare of the Natives of British Columbia, for the betterment of all conditions surrounding the lives of the Natives.
3. The operations of the Society are to be chiefly carried on in the Province of British Columbia.

DATED at Vancouver, British Columbia, this____day of_____, AD, 1944.

BYLAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, INC.

1. The name of the Association is The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia.
2. MEMBERSHIP: The membership shall consist of—
   (a) All those who are Indians as defined by the Indian Act, being Chapter 29 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, who are now members of that Association, known as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, and all such Indians who shall make application for membership in the Association and in a Branch Association and whose application shall have been accepted and who shall not have ceased to be members (hereinafter called Members).
   (b) Such members as the executive shall admit to membership (hereinafter called Associate Members).
3. Any person desiring to become a Member of the Association shall submit his application for membership to the Secretary in the form approved by the executive, together with such evidence as the executive may require of the applicant's qualifications, and accompanied by the annual membership fee for the current year.
4. The annual membership fee shall be Five Dollars ($5.00) and shall be payable to the Treasurer on or before the First day of May in each year.
5. Any Member of the Association may resign such membership.
6. Any person who shall cease to be a Member of the Association shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Branch thereof.
7. The Members in Convention shall have the power to confer Life Membership upon any Member or Associate Member, provided there shall not be at

any one time, more than twenty-five (25) Life Members. No Life Member shall be required to pay annual dues.

8. The Executive shall have the power to confer an Associate Membership upon any person who is prepared to join a Branch of the Association as Associate Member, and who has been approved by such Branch, if the Executive is satisfied that such proposed Member is sincerely interested in the welfare of the Association and its members.

9. The Executive shall have the power to terminate the membership of an associate member at any time.

10. Associate Members shall have no voting power and shall not be entitled to hold office in the Association.

11. Officers and Their Duties.—The affairs of the Association shall be carried on by the Executive and those appointed or designated by it for that purpose.

12. The Executive shall consist of the President, the Vice Presidents, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Chairman of the Legislative Committee.

13. The duties of the members of the Executive shall be as follows:

(a) The President shall be the general presiding officer, and as such will, when he is present, preside at all meetings of the Executive and at Conventions of the Association, and shall direct the policy and affairs of the Association in accordance with the objects of the Association and the directions and rulings of the Executive and the Association.

(b) The Vice Presidents shall each act as organizers of Branches of the Association within the District covered by the group of Branches by which he is nominated, and shall keep the President and the Executive informed of all problems which arise in his group, and the President may appoint any Vice President to act on his behalf in his absence, and failing such appointment the Executive may appoint any Vice President to act for the President in his absence.

(c) The Secretary shall keep all records of the Association, including minutes of all its meetings and shall attend all Provincial Conventions and meetings of the Executive.

(d) The Treasurer shall keep all financial records of the Association and shall receive all moneys of the Association and shall deal therewith in accordance with the directions and instructions of the Executive.

(e) The Chairman of the Legislative Committee shall preside over the Legislative Committee.

14. Election of Officers.—The members of the first executive, who shall hold office until their successors are appointed, shall be:

President	Alfred Adams, Masset, B. C.
	Johnson Russ, Greenville, B. C. Northern Coast District
	Wallace Morgan, Kitwanga, B. C. Northern Interior District.
Vice-Presidents:	Caleb Williams, Bella Bella, B. C. Central Coast District
	William D. Scow, Alert Bay, B. C. Alert Bay District
	Frank Assu, Quathiaski Cove, B. C. Southern Coast District
	August Murphy, Nootka, B. C. Northwest Coast District
	Tom Shewish, Alberni, B. C. Southwest Coast District.
	Oscar Peters, Katz, B. C. Lower Frazer District

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Secretary	Herbert Cook, Alert Bay, B. C.
Treasurer	Timothy E. Moody, North Vancouver, B. C.
Chairman of Legislative Committee	Rev. P. R. Kelly, Ocean Falls, B. C.

15. Save as herein otherwise provided, the Executive of the Association shall be elected at each annual Convention and shall hold office until the election of its successors.

16. Nominees for the offices of President, Secretary, Treasurer and Chairman of the Legislative Committee, shall be made by the delegates at the annual Convention. Each delegate may nominate one member in good standing for each office.

17. Each delegate shall be entitled to nominate at the Convention for the office of Vice President of the Association, one member in good standing of the Association who is also a member in good standing of a Branch Association in the Group of Branches or District which includes that Branch of which such nominee is a member.

18. The election of the Executives shall be held in the following order: President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of Legislative Committee.

19. The number of Vice Presidents shall be one for each group of Branches, and he shall be elected from among the nominees of the delegates representing such group.

20. Meetings and Powers of the Executive.—The Executive may pass rules and regulations governing its meetings and procedure.

21. The executive may expel from membership any Member or Associate Member of the Association (including Life Members) whose conduct is such, in the opinion of the Executive, as is detrimental to the welfare of the Association. *Provided*, That no member shall be expelled from the Association except after the consideration of his case at a meeting of the executive, of which such member shall have had two weeks' notice. At such meeting the member whose expulsion is under consideration shall be entitled to be heard. Pending such meeting, the executive may suspend the member from membership.

22. Any member or associate member (including Life Members) aggrieved by any decision of the executive expelling or suspending him from membership in the Association, may appeal to the membership at large at the next Convention of the Association, and the decision of the Convention shall be final.

23. Any five Executives shall form a quorum for the conduct of business.

24. The Executive shall have power to establish one or more Women's Auxiliaries, and the members of such auxiliaries shall have the right to attend the Conventions of the Association, but shall have no voting power and no right to hold office in the Association. Any member of a Women's Auxiliary shall pay to the Association an annual fee of one dollar payable on or before the first day of May of each year.

25. The Executive may pay salaries to the Secretary and to the Treasurer of the Association, but no salaries shall be paid to any members of the Executive, but the Executive may pay travelling expenses or other disbursements incurred, or made by any member of the Executive upon or in connection with the Association's business as they see fit.

26. The Executive may employ any persons which they shall deem necessary to carry on the business of the Association and remunerate such persons for services rendered.

27. The Executive, at its first meeting after the Convention at which it is elected, may appoint one or more business agents and may fix their remuneration.

Such business agents shall carry on such duties as the Executive may direct and particularly will have power, subject to the approval of the Executive, to negotiate all contracts or agreements to be entered into by the Association on behalf of its Branches or Members, or Associate Members thereof.

28. In the event of a casual vacancy occurring on the Executive, the remaining members of the Executive may fill such vacancy, provided that in the event of an office Vice President becoming vacant, the Branches comprising the group represented by such Vice President shall be given a reasonable opportunity to nominate successors to such an office, and the Executive shall appoint the successor for such office of Vice President from among those so nominated, if any.

29. A resolution signed by all the members of the Executive shall have the same force and effect as a resolution passed at a meeting of the Executive duly called.

30. The Executive shall have the power to appoint from among the Members of the Association such committees as it may deem necessary for the conduct of the affairs of the Association, subject to the supervision of the Executive, and may designate the powers of such subcommittees. The Executive shall as soon as may be after its election appoint a Legislative Committee, of such Members as it may see fit. The Legislative Committee may include persons not Members of the Association.

31. The President shall be ex officio member of all committees.

32. The Executive may borrow or raise or secure money in such manner as they shall think fit.

33. Branches.—The Executive may from time to time establish Branch Associations of not less than twenty (20) members and may, for administrative purposes, group these branches into groups or Districts. The First Branches of the Association and their respective groups or Districts shall be as follows:

NORTHERN COAST DISTRICT

Canyon City
Greenville
Kincolith
Port Simpson
Port Essington
Kitselas
Kitkatla
Hartley Bay
Metlakatla
Masset
Skidegate

NORTHERN INTERIOR DISTRICT

Kitwanga
Skeena Crossing
Hazelton
Moricetown

CENTRAL DISTRICT

Kitamaat
Klemtu
Bella Bella
Bella Coola
Kemano
Rivers Inlet
Smiths Inlet

ALERT BAY DISTRICT

Alert Bay
Fort Rupert
Turner Island
Village Island
New Vancouver
Gilford Island
Kingcome Inlet
Quatsino

SOUTHERN COAST DISTRICT

Cape Mudge
Squirrel Cove
Comox
Cooper Island
Nanaimo
Church House
Chemainus
Duncan
Westholme
Esquimalt
South Saanich
Sechelt
Sliamon

LOWER FRASER DISTRICT

Sardis
Cheam
Sea Islands
Chehalias
Katz Landing

NORTHWEST COAST DISTRICT

Nootka
Ceepeecee
Hesquiat
Ehatisaht
Noochahlaht (Muchalat?)

SOUTHWEST COAST DISTRICT

Ahousat
Alberni
Clayoquot
Ohiat
Ucluelet

34. The Executive shall confer upon a Branch Association such powers not exceeding the powers of the Association, as they see fit.

35. A Branch Association shall pay into the Association the sum of Ten Dollars ($10.00) upon receiving its charter.

36. CONVENTIONS.—The Association shall hold a Convention at least once in each calendar year, at such time and place as may be designated at the previous Annual Convention, or failing such designation, as may be designated by the Executive.

37. Each established Branch Association shall be entitled to send two (2) delegates to each convention, each of whom shall be entitled to one vote in respect to all matters arising at the Convention. No Member other than a delegate or his proxy shall be entitled to vote at a Convention.

38. The names of the delegates shall be delivered to the Secretary in writing not less than seven (7) days prior to the Annual Convention, and delivered to the Secretary in writing forty-eight (48) hours before the opening of any other Convention.

39. The Executive may appoint any Member to be Recording Secretary for the Annual Convention, and such Recording Secretary shall keep record of the proceedings and minutes of the Convention, and will hold office only during the Convention at which he is appointed, the Secretary need not himself keep such records or minutes.

40. The Executive may call a Convention of the Association at any time that they think it necessary to do so, and shall call a Convention upon the written request of the majority of the Vice Presidents.

41. Thirty (30) days notice of every convention shall be given to the Members and Associate Members by posting at Vancouver, British Columbia, written notice thereof to the Secretary of each Branch Association, and such notice so posted shall be deemed to be duly given to each Member and Associate Member of the Association who is a Member of the Branch to which such notice is posted.

42. Delegates representing fifty percent (50%) of the Branch Associations and present in person shall form a quorum for the conduct of business at a Convention of the Association.

43. Any delegate unable to attend a Convention may appoint a Member to be his proxy. All proxies shall be filed with the Secretary before the opening of any Convention at which they are to be used.

44. Voting at a Convention shall be by show of hands or by ballot, as the Convention may decide prior to any vote being taken. Unless otherwise decided the vote shall be by show of hands.

45. Bargaining Agents.—The Association, through its Executive, shall have the power to enter into contracts on behalf of its Branches and its Members and Associate Members, or any of them, covering the terms and conditions of employment of the Members and Associate Members of the Association, and the remuneration to be paid therefor, and covering the terms and conditions of the sale or disposal by the Members and Associate Members of any of their products and the price therefor, and the Members and Associate Members shall be bound by such contracts so entered into by the Association or the Executive of the Association on their behalf, and agree with the Association and the other Members thereof that they will abide by such contracts and the terms, conditions, remunerations and prices fixed thereby.

46. The Association or Business Agent or other person appointed or employed by the Excutive of the Association for that purpose shall be the bargaining agent for the Members and Associate Members of the Association.

47. Seal.—The Association shall have a Seal, the form of which shall be adopted at the first meeting of the Executive, and the Seal shall be affixed only in the presence of such officers as the Executive shall designate for that purpose. Failing such designation, by the President or a Vice President and the Secretary. The Seal shall remain in the custody of the Secretary.

48. Books and Audit.—The Executive shall hold a meeting within seven (7) days of its election and shall appoint auditors for the ensuing year who may either be a firm of chartered accountants or any member thereof, or an auditing committee of not less than three (3) Members of the Association who are not on the Executive.

49. The books and records of the Association shall be open to inspection by any Member at any reasonable time at the office of the Association, or such other place as the Executive may decide, and such books shall be audited each year as of a date not more than one (1) month prior to the date fixed for the Annual Convention, and the auditor's report, balance sheet, and statement of receipts and disbursements shall be presented to the Annual Convention and be available for inspection thereat.

ALTERATION OF BYLAWS

50. Bylaws may be altered or added to by any extraordinary resolution as defined by the "Societies Act."

Dated at the City of Vancouver, in the Province of British Columbia, this 8th day of January, A. D. 1945.

Alfred Adams
Frank Assu
Wm. D. Scow
Andrew Paull
Oscar D. Peters

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